

Proceedings 1999

Selected Papers from the
Third College-Wide Conference
for Students in Languages, Linguistics & Literature

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

edited by Alana Bell, Jennifer Shoemaker & Gay Sibley

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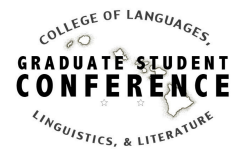
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CONTENTS

Preface	iii
I. LINGUISTICS	
<i>Katsura Aoyama</i> REQUEST STRATEGIES AT A JAPANESE WORKPLACE	3
<i>Keira Ballantyne</i> REDUPLICATION IN YAPESE: A CASE OF SYLLABLE COPYING	12
<i>Jung-hsing Chang</i> COMPLEX PREDICATES AND GRAMMATICAL FORMS IN MANDARIN	18
<i>Atiqa Hachimi</i> SUBJECTIVE REACTIONS TO ARABIC AND JAPANESE-ACCENTED ENGLISH IN HAWAII	27
<i>Hui-hua Hwang</i> DEICTIC DEVICES IN MANDARIN DISCOURSE	35
<i>Nobuko Koyama-Murakami</i> THE TWO-WAY DISTINCTION FOR THE TIME AND SPACE: THE NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF BANANA YOSHIMOTO'S <i>KANASHII YOKAN</i> (LITERALLY <i>SAD PREMONITION</i>)	43
<i>Sarka Simackova</i> SEGMENTAL EFFECTS OF PROSODIC PHRASING IN ENGLISH: VOICE ONSET TIME	51
II. SECOND LANGUAGE STUDIES	
<i>Yoshinori J. Fukuya and Martyn K. Clark</i> A COMPARISON OF INPUT ENHANCEMENT AND EXPLICIT INSTRUCTION OF MITIGATORS	58
<i>Michelle Winn</i> THE USE OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH IN TEACHING STANDARD AMERICAN ENGLISH AS A SECOND DIALECT	70
III. EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES	
<i>Chengzhi Chu</i> SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE CHINESE REFLEXIVE "ZIJI"	79
<i>William N. Ridgeway</i> FISSURE, BLINDNESS, AND THE GAZE IN NATSUME SOSEKI'S <i>MEIAN</i>	87

IV. LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES OF EUROPE AND THE AMERICAS

- Jon McFarland* 104
A BODY FOR SALE: THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF PROSTITUTION
IN *FIN'AMOR*

- Marie-Thérèse Lawen* 114
DIDEROT'S *ENCYCLOPEDIA*: THE WORK OF A EUROPEAN

V. ENGLISH

- Tia Ballantine* 119
MISS LIBERTY HAS AN ORGASM

- Alana Bell* 122
AUTOBIOGRAPHY AS THE ALLEGORY OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN
ANNA BANTI'S *ARTEMISIA*

- David Simacek* 125
OTHELLO RECONCILED: A CALL FOR TOLERANCE IN
LITERARY CRITICISM

- Patrice M. Wilson* 132
RE-ENVISIONING ARGUMENT: WRITING WITH ALTERNATIVE
APPROACHES TO POWER

PREFACE

Alana Bell, Graduate Student in English
Jennifer Shoemaker, Graduate Student in English
Gay Sibley, Associate Professor of English

The selections in the present volume represent the creative and collaborative energy of the diverse gathering of people who participated in the third annual conference for graduate students in the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

The goal of these annual conferences is to create an open forum where graduate students, faculty, and members of the community at large can gather to share ideas. The conference was held in April of 1999 at the University of Hawai'i, Mānoa campus. The keynote address, "From to Multiplex" was delivered by Dr. Caroline Sinavaiana-Gabbard, Assistant Professor of English at the University of Hawai'i.

In order to encourage participants working in all theories, genres, and subject matter to participate in the conference, the 1999 committee elected not to set a theme, or to limit the scope of the conference with a title. We think the message came across. Included in this volume are works ranging from Mandarin discourse to French history, English phonology to pedagogy. The conference featured work from the students of the diverse departments in LLL: Linguistics, East Asian Languages and Literatures, English as a Second Language, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, English, and Hawaiian and Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures.

The graduate student conference and the proceedings are both indebted to the support and dedication of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, Professor Emerita Cornelia Moore, Interim Dean Roderick Jacobs, and Associate Dean Joseph O'Mealy.

The editors wish to thank the 1999 conference committee chairs Kerri Russell and Micah Himmel. We would also like to extend our gratitude to the committee's faculty advisors Professor Gay Sibley and Professor Nobuko Ochner. The conference committee was made up of representatives from the respective departments: Katsura Aoyama from the Department of Linguistics; Jennifer Shoemaker and Alana Bell from English. We would also like to thank the many graduate students who volunteered to review the papers submitted for publication, their insights are sincerely appreciated. And finally, we would like to congratulate all the presenters, moderators, and participants for a successful conference.

REQUEST STRATEGIES AT A JAPANESE WORKPLACE

Katsura Aoyama, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

There are many kinds of 'speech acts' associated with the speaker's utterances in a typical situation (Searle 1972:136), and *request* is one of such 'speech acts'. This paper provides examples of request strategies in Japanese used at a Japanese workplace. The data from natural conversations showed that different request strategies were used according to the age, status and gender difference among speakers at a Japanese workplace. More direct strategies were used by a male speaker, by an older person to a younger person, by a person in higher status to a person in lower status.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is known that there are many kinds of acts associated with the speaker's utterances in a typical speech situation (Searle 1972:136). Searle calls production of linguistic communication 'a speech act' (1972:137); the study of speech acts has been a central concern of pragmatics, especially in cross-cultural pragmatics (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989:2). This study investigates request strategies among workers as well as requests from customers to the workers at a Japanese workplace. The data were naturally occurring utterances collected through participant observation; native Japanese speakers' interactions were observed at a coffee shop over a two-month period. This study was motivated by the findings of the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989).

This study investigates requests in two ways that are different from the methods of the original CCSARP project. First, the data were based on naturally occurring utterances rather than data from questionnaires. In the CCSARP project, the Discourse-Completion Test (DCT) was used to collect a large sample from seven countries, although it was suggested that ideal data should come from 'natural' conditions (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989:13). Second, this study investigates request strategies in Japanese, which was not included in the CCSARP project. Although this is not primarily a crosslinguistic study, it is hoped that it contributes additional dimensions to current research in cross-cultural pragmatics.

2. BACKGROUND

It is generally assumed that people produce utterances in order to realize certain communicative intentions (Levelt 1989:58). An utterance with this communicative intention is called a *speech act*; it is an intentional action performed by means of an utterance. Searle states that the minimal unit of linguistic communication is the production of speech acts, not the symbol or word or sentence (1972:136), and he provides some major classes of speech acts, such as *Assertives*, *Directives*, *Commissives*, *Expressives*, *Declarations* (1972:12-20).

The purpose of a directive (request) is to get the addressee(s) to do something (Levelt 1989:60), and it is said to be a *face-threatening act* (Brown and Levinson 1978:71-73). The request is a particularly important speech act in a workplace where workers must give directions to each other. This study looks at request strategies from customers to workers and at strategies from worker to worker and investigates how different request strategies are correlated to social factors.

Ervin-Tripp (1976) identifies six types of directive forms in American English: need statements, imperatives, imbedded imperatives, permission directives, non-explicit question directives, and hints. She analyzes different forms to be related with politeness, social status and social distance and various contexts (1976:58-59), and also states that when the directives are used with a more polite form, the illocutionary force is *not* necessarily polite, but the effect is the opposite (1976:63-64).

The request sequence(s) may include alerters such as address terms (e.g., 'Judith'); preposed supportive moves (e.g., 'I missed class yesterday'); head act (e.g., 'Could I borrow your notes?'); optionally elaborated with down graders (e.g., 'do you think?'); or upgraders and postposed supportive moves (e.g., 'I promise to

return them by tomorrow') (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper:17-19). The main analysis of requests in this study was on the head act rather than other components in the request sequence. Classifications of the head act in the CCSARP project are summarized below.

In the CCSARP project, the head act of the request sequence is classified on a nine-point scale of mutually exclusive categories. These nine strategy types (on a scale of directness) are as follows (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989:18):

1. MOOD DERIVABLE: utterances in which the grammatical mood of the verb signals illocutionary force (e.g., 'Leave me alone', 'Clean up that mess.')
2. PERFORMATIVES: utterances in which the illocutionary force is explicitly named (e.g., 'I am asking you to clean up the mess.')
3. HEDGED PERFORMATIVES: utterances in which the naming of the illocutionary force is modified by hedging expressions (e.g., 'I would like to ask you to give your presentation a week earlier than scheduled.')
4. OBLIGATION STATEMENTS: utterances which state the obligation of the hearer to carry out the act (e.g., 'You'll have to move that car.').
5. WANT STATEMENTS: utterances which state the speaker's desire that the hearer carries out the act (e.g., 'I really want you to stop bothering me.')
6. SUGGESTORY FORMULAE: utterances which contain a suggestion to do X (e.g., 'How about cleaning up?')
7. QUERY PREPARATORY: utterances containing reference to preparatory conditions (e.g., ability, willingness) as conventionalized in any specific language (e.g., 'Could you clean up the kitchen, please?', 'Would you mind moving your car?')
8. STRONG HINTS: utterances containing partial reference to object of element needed for the implementation of the act (e.g., 'You have left the kitchen in a right mess.')
9. MILD HINTS: utterances that make no reference to the request proper (or any of its elements) but are interpretable as requests by context (e.g., 'I am a nun.' in response to a persistent hassler).

Blum-Kulka and House compile these nine distinctions into three levels in their analysis (1989:123, see table 1). They pull together the five most direct request strategies (called *impositives*), and combined original types 6 and 7 (called *conventionally indirect*). They treat the two types of hints as one strategy type, *hints*.

Blum-Kulka's findings confirm the cross-linguistic validity of these categories: the request strategies in all languages studied yielded a rich repertoire of strategies in all three levels (1989:47). The cultural relativity of request strategies is also pointed out; members of each culture have mutually shared expectations in regard to appropriateness of linguistic behavior in various contexts, and differences between the social meanings carried by these behaviors can be a matter of intercultural dispute (1989:65-67).

Revised categories by Blum-Kulka and House (1989)	Original types in CCSARP
Impositives	1. mood derivable 2. performatives 3. hedged performatives 4. obligation statements 5. want statement
Conventionally indirect	6. suggestory formulae 7. query preparatory
Hints	8. strong hints 9. mild hints

TABLE 1. Three categories in Blum-Kulka and House (1989)

This study is intended to examine the universality and the cultural relativity of request strategies claimed by Blum-Kulka in the context of a workplace in Japan. Two research questions are raised:

(RQ1) Are the three categories of request strategies, which were found cross-linguistically in Blum-Kulka's data, used at a workplace in Japan?

(RQ2) If they are, how do these categories relate with social factors such as age, status or gender?

3. METHOD

3.1. PLACE OF INVESTIGATION

The data were collected by participant observation at a coffee shop in downtown Osaka, Japan in the summer of 1995. The investigator was one of the workers at the coffee shop at the time of investigation. Natural occurring utterances were collected and written down by hand. The data collection was done over two months. The requests from the customers to the workers were also collected.

3.2. SUBJECTS

There were 16 workers total involved in this study. They were shift workers; thus, not all the workers worked at the same time. The majority of the workers (11 out of 16 or 68.7%) were young, and their ages ranged from 18 to the 20's. Others were in their 40's and mid-50's. There were at least three status distinctions involved at this coffee shop: supervisors, full-time employees and part-time employees. There were two supervisors who were considered to have the highest status among them. There were five full-time workers who were not in supervisory positions but were still considered to have higher status than the part-time workers. Nine others were part-time workers. Half of the workers were male and the others were female. Table 2 summarizes the workers' profiles.¹

Codes	Age	Status	Gender	Codes	Age	Status	Gender
A	50s	Supervisor	Male	I	20	Part-time	Female
B	50s	Supervisor	Male	J	20	Part-time	Female
CF	—	Customer	Female	K	20	Part-time	Male
CM	—	Customer	Male	L	20	Part-time	Male
D	59	Full-time	Male	M	20	Part-time	Female
E	53	Full-time	Male	N	18	Part-time	Female
F	26	Full-time	Male	O	18	Part-time	Female
G	22	Full-time	Male	P	18	Part-time	Female
H	43	Part-time	Female	Q	18	Part-time	Female

TABLE 2. Codes and profiles of subjects

Only the gender of the customers was taken into consideration, simply because it was not possible to obtain other kinds of information from them. This coffee shop had many female customers; majority (81.0%) of requests from customers were from female customers.

4. RESULTS

The data were analyzed with the CCSARP coding manual (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989) and classified into three categories used according to Blum-Kulka and House's three categories (Blum-Kulka and House 1989). These three categories are *impositives* (henceforth strategy A), *conventionally indirect* (strategy B), and *hints* (strategy C). Two kinds of interactions were analyzed: Customer-worker interactions and worker-worker interactions. There were 21 requests collected in the former, and 102 requests in the latter.

4.1. CUSTOMERS' REQUEST STRATEGIES

Of 21 requests from customers to workers, almost all of them were from categories A and B. Some examples are:

- (1) Orenji juusu kudasai. 'Orange juice, please.' (strategy: A, female customer)
- (2) Omizu itadakeru? 'Can I have some water?' (strategy B, female customer)

Both strategies A and B were used frequently (52.4% and 42.9%, respectively). Strategy C was not used from customers to the workers since hints are inherently opaque by their very nature (Weizman 1989:71). Only one example was found in the data:

- (3) Macchi arimasu? 'Do you have a match?' when used as a request for a match (strategy C, female customer)

The distribution of the requests from customers is summarized in Table 3:

Strategy Type	Percentage	Number (total = 21)
A: Impositives	52.4	11
B: Conventionally Indirect	42.9	9
C: Hints	4.8	1

TABLE 3. Distribution of request strategy types between customers-workers

Strategy type	Order of food/drinks (n = 9)	Something else (n = 12)
A: Impositives	100% (n = 9)	16.7% (n = 2)
B: Conventionally Indirect	0%	75.0% (n = 9)
C: Hints	0%	8.3% (n = 1)

Table 4. Percentage distribution of request strategy in different types of requests from customers

Interestingly, customers used the different strategies for different kinds of requests. Table 4 shows the distribution of request strategies in two different types of requests from the customers; requests of the food/drinks and requests for something else.

There is a clear distinction in the customers' usage of these strategies; they only used strategy A to order food or drinks and they used strategy B to ask for something else (e.g., a match). This distinction can be seen in the following example from a female customer:

- (4) Furuutii orenji to ringo juusu. (strategy A) A, macchi itadake masu? (strategy B)
'Fruity orenji juice and apple juice. Oh, could I have a match?'

When the customers ordered something and it was expected for them to do so, they used the direct request strategy. More variation of requests was found when they asked for some extra service other than ordering food or drinks.

4.2. REQUESTS AMONG WORKERS

4.2.1. OVERALL FINDINGS

It was found that all three levels of request strategies were used among co-workers at a coffee shop in Japan. Overall distribution of these three categories were shown in Table 5. Some examples are given below:

Strategy A: *Impositives*

(5) Kappu, aratte 'Wash the cups.' ($H \rightarrow N^2$)

Strategy B: *Conventionally Indirect*

(6) Gamushiro tsukutte kureruka. 'Could you make syrup?' ($G \rightarrow N$)

Strategy C: *Hints*

(7) Soko wasuremono shiteru wa 'There is an unclaimed bag.'

Uttered as a request to bring it to Lost and Found. ($H \rightarrow I$)

Blum-Kulka states that conventional indirect is the most frequently used strategy type, but apparently it was not so in this work situation: impositives were used more than half of the time, and conventionally indirect and hints were used equally.

Strategy type	Percentage	Numbers (n = 102)
A: Impositives	52.0%	53
B: Conventionally Indirect	23.5%	24
C: Hints	24.5%	25

TABLE 5. Overall distribution of request strategies among workers.

4.2.2. SOCIAL FACTORS AND REQUEST STRATEGIES

4.2.2.1. AGE

Age seemed to be an important factor related to the request strategies found in this study. First of all, more than 60% of the requests were from older people to younger ones. Second, percentage of direct strategies was high when the requests were uttered by older workers to younger workers. Table 6 and Figure 1 illustrate the distribution:

Strategy type	Older to younger (n = 59 ³)	Younger to older (n = 26)	Equal (n = 13)
A: Impositives	61.0%	38.5%	38.5%
B: Conventionally Indirect	16.9%	38.5%	23.0%
C: Hints	22.0%	23.0%	38.5%

TABLE 6. Percentage distribution of request strategy in different age relationships

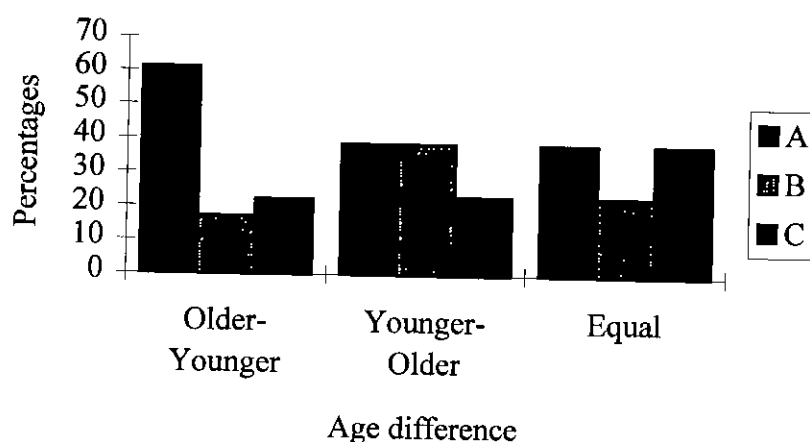


FIGURE 1. Strategy type by age difference.

A = Impositives B = Conventionally Indirect C = Hints

4.2.2. STATUS

As described earlier, there were three status distinctions at this coffee shop: supervisors (the highest), full-time employees (middle) and part-time employees (the lowest). The data were analyzed with speakers' and addressees' status; higher to lower, lower to higher, and equal.

Half of all requests were interchanged between workers in equal status, and only 14.9% of requests were addressed to a worker in a higher status. The percentage of direct strategy (A) was high when the request was addressed to a worker in a lower status. For example:

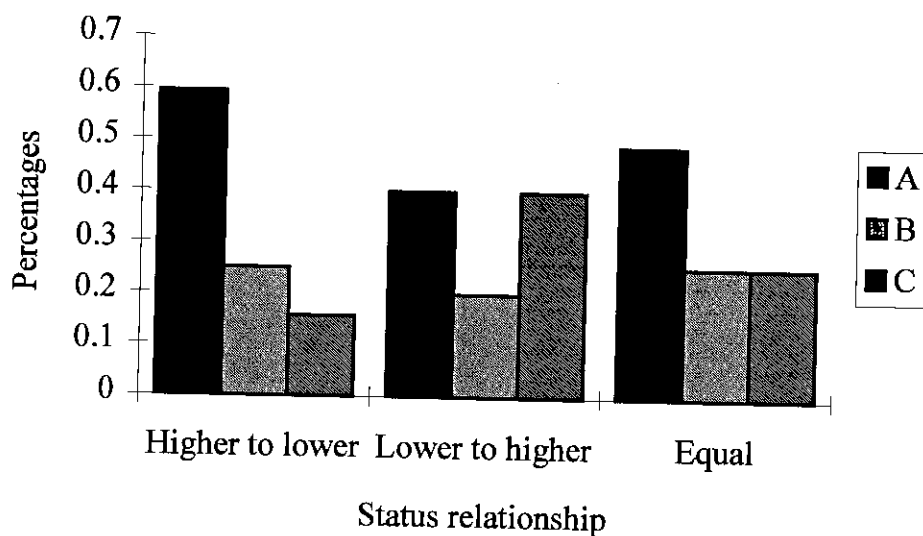
(8) Kore kaite 'Write this.' (Strategy A, E → I)

Table 7 and Figure 2 summarize the distribution of the strategies with respect to status differences.

Strategy type	Higher to lower (n = 32)	Lower to higher (n = 15)	Equal (n = 55)
A: Impositives	59.4% (n = 19)	40.0% (n = 6)	49.1% (n = 27)
B: Conventionally Indirect	25.0% (n = 8)	20.0% (n = 3)	25.5% (n = 14)
C: Hints	15.6% (n = 5)	20.0% (n = 6)	25.5% (n = 14)

TABLE 7. Percentages of request strategy in different status relationships

FIGURE 2. Strategy type by status difference.



A = Impositives B = Conventionally Indirect C = Hints

4.2.3. GENDER

Another factor examined was gender. Different patterns of request strategy were found to be related to speakers' and addressees' genders (see Table 8 and Figure 3). Many more requests were addressed to female workers (78.5%) than to male workers (21.5%), but it is important to note here that many of the part-time workers were female while supervisors and full-time workers were male.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. DIFFERENT REQUEST STRATEGIES

The percentage of hints was high when female workers addressed the request to a male worker (36.8%) compared to when they addressed the request to other female workers (23.5%). In general, female workers used more hints (28.8%) than male workers did (16.7%). For example, a female worker uttered a hint request to a male worker:

(9) Chiisai fooku nai. 'There are no small forks.'
Used to request to wash and bring them. (H → K)

Strategy types	Male to male (n = 5)	Male to female (n = 26)	Female to male (n = 16)	Female to female (n = 47)
A: Impositives	60.0 (n = 3)	53.8 (n = 14)	43.8 (n = 7)	46.8 (n = 22)
B: Conventionally Indirect	40.0 (n = 2)	15.4 (n = 4)	12.5 (n = 2)	29.8 (n = 14)
C: Hints	---	30.8 (n = 8)	43.8 (n = 7)	23.4 (n = 11)

TABLE 8. Percentages of request strategy in different gender relationships.

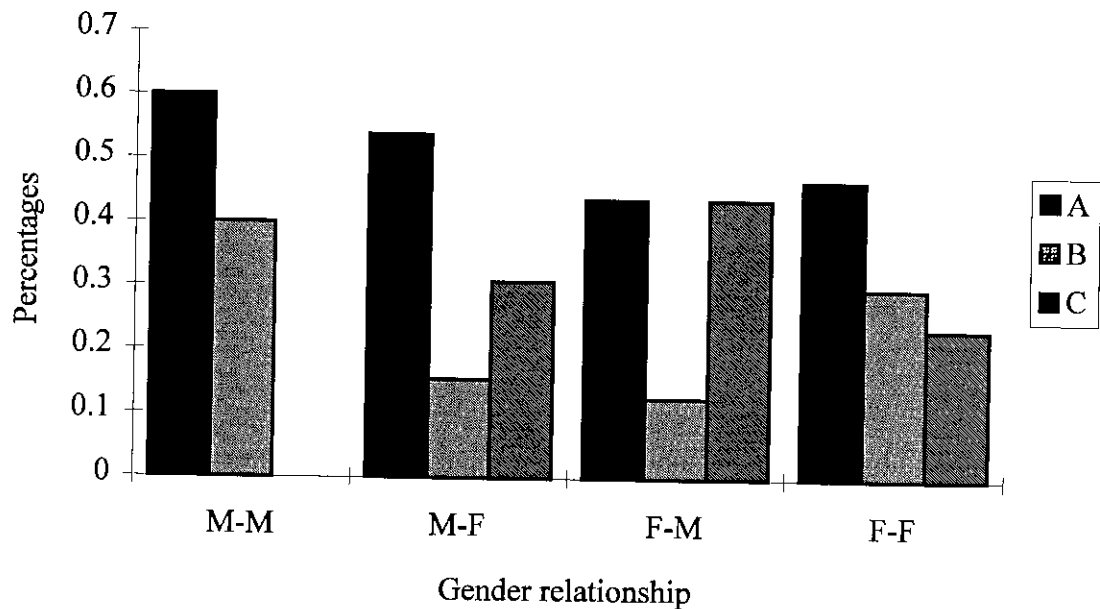


FIGURE 3. Strategy type by gender difference.

A = Impositives B = Conventionally Indirect C = Hints

Sometimes hints were not successful in conveying the speaker's intention, as can be seen in the example below:

(10)

H: Kappu, haitaa ni tsukete annen. 'There are coffee cups in the bucket with detergent.'
Uttered as a request to wash the cups. (H → N)

N: Hai. 'Yes.' But N did not go and wash them.

H: Kappu aratte. 'Wash the cups.'

In (10), H wanted N to wash the coffee cups that were in the bucket with detergent, and uttered a hint request. N did not understand that it was a request, and H rephrased the request with a direct one.

There were some routine hints used in this coffee shop between workers. For example,

(11) Arigatoo gozaimashita 'Thank you very much (to the customers).'
(Strategy C, I to other workers) Used as a request to go to the cash register.

Arigatoogo zaimashita 'Thank you very much.' was commonly used as a hint to let other workers know when to go to the cash register, and to clean up the table when customers left the coffee shop.

6. CONCLUSION

The data collected naturally at a coffee shop in Japan seemed to confirm the universality of the categories claimed by Blum-Kulka (1989). The data shows the different request strategies were used according to the age, status and gender differences among the speakers in a Japanese workplace. More direct strategies were associated with older age and/or higher status. It is hoped that this study provides some real-life examples to learners of Japanese, as well as data to researchers in pragmatics.

NOTES

1. Codes in table 2 correspond to the codes in the data in the following sections.
2. These codes correspond to the codes for the workers in Table 1.
3. Four utterances were not considered in this table because they were anonymous.

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REDUPLICATION IN YAPESE: A CASE OF SYLLABLE COPYING

Keira Gebbie Ballantyne, *Department of Linguistics*

ABSTRACT

"Reduplication is a productive process in Yapese. It requires a great deal more study than has been made so far" (Jensen 1977 :110). Jensen observes three different phonological reflexes of reduplication in Yapese (CV-, CVC-, -CVC). The present work holds that a single generalization describes reduplication in Yapese; namely that the reduplicating affix in Yapese copies the first or last syllable of the stem.

Hung (1989:49) asserts that "syllables [in Yapese] must be closed in word-final position; otherwise they must be open". The above description of reduplication directly contradicts this position, and it will be argued, using evidence from reduplication, that closed syllables are permitted in non-final position in Yapese.

After outlining the salient features of tier-based approaches to morphology, McCarthy & Prince's (1995) theory of prosodic circumscription is invoked to describe Yapese reduplication. McCarthy & Prince's Minimality Hypothesis predicts that the circumscribed element is at least a minimal word in a given language. Evidence from Yapese shows this hypothesis to be false.

Yapese is spoken in Yap state, in the Federated States of Micronesia. Yapese is the language of Yap Proper, which is made up of the islands of Yap, Map, and Tomil-Gagil. These islands are close together and connected by bridges. Rumung is also a part of Yap Proper, but is only accessible by boat (Bendure & Friary 1995). According to the 1987 Yap census, reported in *Ethnologue*, the population of Yapese speakers is 6,592.

Although Yap is politically and geographically part of Micronesia, Yapese does not fall into the Micronesian language family. It is a member of the Western Malayo Polynesian sub-group of Austronesian (Grimes 1992).

Typologically, Yapese is a VSO language. The most comprehensive study of Yapese is the work of John T. Jensen, who published the 1977 *Yapese reference grammar* and *Yapese-English dictionary*. Other works include two pieces by Robert Hsu; 'Apocope and Umlaut in Yapese' (1969a) and a doctoral thesis entitled 'Phonology and Morphophonemics of Yapese' (1969b). Henrietta Hung's 1989 paper 'Harmony in Yapese' deals with some aspects of the vowel phonology.

The present study was a part of the author's 1997 B.A. Honours thesis (Ballantyne 1997). The data were collected at the University of Western Australia, from Josephine Giltug, a twenty-one year old native speaker of Yapese living in Perth, Western Australia. Although Yapese has a standardised spelling system, which is used throughout Jensen's grammar, my consultant used a non-standard spelling which crucially omitted glottal stops. In order to preserve these my data is presented here as it was collected, in IPA.

1.0 PROSODY OF REDUPLICATION

1.1 JENSEN'S DESCRIPTION OF YAPESE REDUPLICATION

Jensen describes three forms of reduplication in Yapese. The first two of these involve *leftward* reduplication; that is, where the reduplicant attaches to the left edge of the stem. He outlines two types of leftward moving reduplication; CV- and CVC-.

1. Leftward moving reduplication
CV-stem
CVC-stem

The third type of reduplication is *rightward* reduplication of the form -CVC.

2. Rightward reduplication
stem-CVC

Jensen notes that rightward reduplication is very rare (Jensen 1977a:110-111), an observation corroborated by my findings.

1.2 SYLLABLE COPYING IN YAPESE

In the present study, I collected eighty instances of reduplication in Yapese. Two of these tokens were nouns; the other seventy-eight were verbs. The canonical semantic function of reduplication is intensification of a state or repetition of an action. Note that I depart somewhat from Jensen who posits a category of adjectives for Yapese. In Yapese, state-denoting items which typically translate as adjectives in English take verbal morphology, a familiar system in Austronesian languages. Thus, my classification 'verb' subsumes Jensen's classification of both 'verb' and 'adjective'. Of the seventy eight verbs, seven were only well formed when the diminutive *sa-* 'a little, somewhat' prefixed the reduplicated form. For example, one can say *k'ɛ:y* 'to put fuel on' and *sak'ɛ:ɣk'ɛ:y* 'to put a little fuel on', but not **k'ɛ:ɣk'ɛ:y*¹.

The two classes of leftward moving reduplication described by Jensen (namely CV- and CVC-) can be reduced to a single class under the generalization that the first syllable of the base reduplicates in Yapese. If the stem is of the shape CV.CVC, the reduplicant is CV-.

3. a. *tsu.ɲu:r* *tsu tsu.ɲu:r*
to stare to stare repeatedly
- b. *ɔi.ʔaβ* *ɔi ɔi.ʔaβ*
to cut to slice

If the stem is CVC or CVC.CVC, the reduplicant is CVC-.

4. a. *tə:ɟ* *tə:ɟ tə:ɟ*
to slap to slap hard
- b. *βuy* *βuy βuy*
to be bent to be very bent
- c. *suy ʔa:l* *suy suy ʔa:l*
to be physically slow to be very physically slow
- d. *βa:l.ɟa:n* *βa:l βa:l.ɟa:n*
to be crazy to lose one's mind

-CVC reduplication is also reduplication of an entire syllable. In this case, the rightmost reduplicated syllable affixes to the right edge of the base. As noted above, this type of reduplication is rare, and I have only five tokens of rightward moving reduplication (two of which involve the same stem).

5. a. *ʔa.ɔuk* *ʔa.ɔuk.ɔuk*
to be mixed to be very mixed
- b. *a ʔiy* *a ʔiy ʔiy*
to become skinny to be skinny

The corresponding rightward open syllable reduplication (-CV) is not found, because open syllables are not permitted in word final position in Yapese, except for some loan words (Jensen 1977a:47).

It should be noted that when a monosyllabic word (CVC) is reduplicated, the output is *C₁VC₂.C₁VC₂*. Taken in isolation, there is no reason to analyze this as being leftward reduplication (CVC-); it could just as easily be rightward reduplication (-CVC). It has been analyzed as leftward reduplication on the basis of the rarity of rightward reduplication in bisyllabic words. However, the choice of analysis is not germane to the next point under consideration: the evidence reduplication provides for the prosody of Yapese syllables.

2.0 THE STATUS OF THE SYLLABLE IN YAPESE

The evidence from reduplication has implications for the nature of syllable structure in Yapese. It predicts that Yapese allows both CV and CVC syllables, at least in medial or initial position. This analysis of Yapese syllable structure is consistent with Jensen's position:

In summary, we have seen that the following types of morphemes occur in Yapese:

Those of one syllable: CV(:)C; and those of two syllables: CV(:)CV(:)C; CV(:)CCV(:)C.²
(Jensen 1977a:479)

However, it is contradicted by the position put by Hung (1989:49) that "syllables [in Yapese] must be closed in word-final position; otherwise they must be open ... only word-initial homorganic clusters are allowed; otherwise no clusters are permitted."

At first glance, it would seem that Hung's analysis is immediately falsified by a word like $mo:ɣʊʔθ$ 'to tear' or $suy ʔa:l$ 'to be physically slow'. However, the situation is not quite so simple. Yapese exhibits a schwa-zero alternation in the environment of a consonant cluster.

6. a. $ʔus(ə)ɣu:ɣ$
to fly repeatedly, to flit
- b. $min(ə)min$
to be a gigglepot

There is no phonological explanation of this alternation to be gleaned from the data I have available. It is unclear whether this alternation is a result of deletion or epenthesis; the most likely scenario is that in some words this is a reduced or deleted vowel, and in others it is epenthetic. At present, my best guess is that this variable is due to some interaction between prosody and stylistic factors, although more work obviously needs to be done to investigate this.

The contention that closed syllables are prohibited in non-final position is contradicted by the generalization over reduplication. The pattern of (leftward) reduplication is only explained by reference to both closed and open syllables in initial position. The only input which allows the speaker to construct either a CV- or a CVC- reduplicant is the structure of the stem. (Note that my study clearly shows that the difference is not semantic in nature.) If stems did not allow non-final CVC syllables, the distinction between CV- and CVC- reduplication would be that some stems reduplicate the first syllable, and some stems repeat the first syllable plus onset consonant of the second syllable; there would be an unprincipled disjunction. For a unified analysis, it is necessary that there be both closed and open syllables in initial position at some level of representation.

Given the schwa-zero alternation described above, it seems that Hung's contention must be the result of working with speakers who never produce consonant clusters across syllable boundaries. Tokens like $ʔusɣu:ɣ$ and $minmin$, lead to the conclusion that this is not true of all speakers. In order to successfully produce reduplications, all speakers, even those who do not produce surface level closed initial syllables, must allow for initial closed syllables at some level of representation.

Unless the distribution of CV- and CVC- is entirely random, the only possible contender for this distribution is the syllable type of the stem. Reduplication in Yapese cannot be explained systematically unless one allows non-final CVC syllables.

3.0 DESCRIPTIONS OF REDUPLICATION IN TIER-BASED MORPHOLOGY

Formalisms which account for the nature of reduplication have undergone successive refinements over the past decades. Marantz (1982:435) points out that early formulations invoked transformational rules of the following type:

$REDUP + C1 V1 C2 V2 C3 \Rightarrow C1 V1 -C1 V1 C2 V2 C3$

(see for examples Carrier 1979; Munro & Bensen 1973).

Marantz argues that there is nothing inherent to this transformational approach that disallows sequences like;

$C1 V1 C2 V2 C3 \Rightarrow C3 V2 C2 V1 C1$.

This is problematic, because processes of this ilk never occur in the world's languages.

The morphemic tier approach was developed from this unsatisfactory state of affairs. Morphemic tier theory appeals to the notion of a *morphemic template*. The morpheme which surfaces as a reduplicant is conceived of as an ordered C/V string or *skeleton*. The segments which constitute the stem are linked systematically to the skeleton, unused segments are discarded and then the skeleton is attached to the stem. An example from Marantz's analysis of Agta (spoken in the Philippines) illustrates this process;

7. *takki* 'leg' undergoes reduplication to form the plural *taktakki* 'legs'

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} t & a & k & k & i & t & a & k & k & i \\ | & | & | & | & | & | & | & | & | & | \\ C & V & C & + & C & V & C & C & V & C & V & C \\ \text{(morphemic} & & & & & & & & & & & \\ \text{template)} & & & & & & & & & & & \end{array}$$

$$\Rightarrow \text{tak-takki}$$

(Marantz 1982:446).

For further exposition of morphemic tier theory, see also McCarthy (1982); McCarthy & Prince (1995).

Subsequent refinements of this model have concentrated on the nature of the morphemic template. In the form proposed by Marantz above, the morphemic template is required to be an invariable C/V string. This has two theoretical implications. Firstly, it does not account for the facts in Yapese, where the form of the C/V string of the affix differs according to the form of the stem. The Yapese pattern of CV- or CVC- reduplication is inconsistent with the requirement that the morphemic template for a reduplicant be an invariant C/V string.

Secondly, it implies that the form of the reduplicative affix is never based on the prosodic shape of the stem. A prosodic constituent, such as a syllable, is likely in any given language to be associated with a number of possible C/V strings. The stipulation that the template for the reduplicative affix must be one particular C/V string explicitly prohibits a syllable of variable shape from acting as the morphemic template.

Marantz does, however, make reference to the system of reduplication in YidinY, an Australian Aboriginal language spoken North East Queensland.

8. a. $\begin{array}{ll} \text{ɖi.mu.rU} & \text{ɖi.mu-ɖi.mu.rU} \\ \text{'house'} & \text{'houses'} \end{array}$
- b. $\begin{array}{ll} \text{gin.dal.ba} & \text{gin.dal-gin.dal.ba} \\ \text{'lizard species'} & \text{'lizards'} \end{array}$

Dixon 1977, cited in (Marantz 1982:45).

Noting that reduplication in YidinY requires that the first two syllables of the stem (that is, a foot) are reduplicated, Marantz concludes that YidinY reduplicants copy firstly a C/V skeleton from the base, and then copy a string of segments (Marantz 1982:453-5). This ad hoc formulation requires a superfluous level of representation, in that two processes are invoked (namely the copying of the C/V structure of the syllable(s) and then the copying of the corresponding section of the segmental string) where only a single process, the copying of the foot in its entirety, is necessary. It is only the implicit rejection of a prosodic constituent as a possible template that makes this problematic analysis necessary.

In later work by McCarthy and Prince (1995) prosody does play a role in the morphemic template. However, their analysis is explicit in not allowing the prosodic structure of the base to determine the structure of the reduplicative affix.

Whether the initial syllable of the base is closed or open has no effect on the affix; rather, the prosodic shape of the affix remains constant throughout a particular morphological category. Thus, it is the morphology - via the template- and not the syllabification of the base that is the determinant of the outcome. (McCarthy & Prince 1995:333)

The essential difference between their approach and Marantz's previous work is that the C/V strings have been reanalysed as prosodic constituents. Instead of copying, say, a CVC string, one copies a closed syllable, regardless of the syllable types which exist in the base.

3.1 PROSODIC CIRCUMSCRIPTION

In order to deal with a case like YidinY, McCarthy and Prince (1995) invoke the procedure of 'prosodic circumscription'. Briefly, this theory allows a prosodic unit of the base to undergo morphological operations in lieu of the entire base. Thus in the YidinY case, the leftmost foot is circumscribed, and reduplication operates over the foot, thus accounting for the initial bisyllabic reduplication. Only prosodic constituents- syllables, feet, prosodic words- may undergo prosodic circumscription.

In the prosodic circumscription model, two parameters require language specific data in order to parse the base; the prosodic constituent to be circumscribed (C), and the edge from which one circumscribes (E) (McCarthy and Prince, 1995:342). Thus in the case of Yapese, one isolates a syllable from the left edge of the word, and then reduplicates this as a de facto base. The entire string of reduplicant and circumscribed base stands in the same relationship to the 'residue' of the base as does the circumscribed base; in this case a left to right concatenation. Figure 1. illustrates this process in action.

Figure 1.

input	tsu.ɲu:r	βa:l.ja:n
	'to stare'	'to be crazy'
	circumscribed residue	circumscribed residue
	element	element
isolate	tsu	ɲu:r
leftmost		βa:l
syllable		ja:n
reduplicate	tsu.tsu	ɲu:r
circumscribed		βa:l.βa:l
element		ja:n
output	tsu.tsu.ɲu:r	βa:l.βa:l.ja:n
	'to stare repeatedly'	'to lose one's mind'

Yapese prosodic circumscription.

So far, the best model to account for the facts of Yapese reduplication is the prosodic circumscription model. Nevertheless there is one, albeit minor, problem with this model. McCarthy and Prince propose the following constraint, put as the 'Minimality Hypothesis':

morphological operations, will always apply to word like entities, either to an actual word itself or to a prosodically-delimited minimal word within some larger word. Thus, the prosodic base, as a stem-substitute, must itself meet the Min Wd requirement that holds of stems in general. (McCarthy and Prince 1995:334)

We have seen that the prosodic base in Yapese may be a CV- or a CVC- syllable. However, the minimal word in Yapese is of the shape CV(:)C (Jensen 1977a:47). Thus, although McCarthy and Prince's prosodic circumscription successfully describes the facts of Yapese reduplication, the accompanying Minimalist Hypothesis is falsified by these facts.

4.0 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In sum, this paper has shown that reduplication in Yapese can be captured under a single generalisation which states that the first syllable in the stem undergoes reduplication. Evidence from reduplication is used to outline possible syllable types in Yapese, concluding that both closed and open syllables may occur in either word initial or medial positions. The syllabic pattern of reduplication in Yapese, considered together with the bisyllabic pattern in YidinY, demands that theories of prosodic morphology must account for reduplication of variable syllable shapes from the base. The prosodic circumscription model most effectively handles the data in this case. However, the Yapese data does not conform to the predictions of the Minimality Hypothesis.

NOTES

- 1 The data also includes six fossilized reduplicated forms, which never appear unreduplicated.
- 2 Jensen's V(:) notation indicates that the vowel in question may be either long or short (vowel length is contrastive in Yapese).

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COMPLEX PREDICATES AND GRAMMATICAL FORMS IN MANDARIN

Jung-hsing Chang, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the syntactic and semantic properties in terms of Fusion and Projection among resultative verb constructions, serial verb constructions, and directional verb constructions in Mandarin. The result exhibits a principle of iconicity: when the two verbs of a construction are represented as a unitary entity semantically, they are placed close together syntactically.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Mandarin, when a sentence contains two verbs (e.g. V_1 and V_2), these two verbs can be represented in three different ways: first, in resultative verb constructions (RVCs), V_1 and V_2 should be adjacent to each other, as in (1); second, in serial verb constructions (SVCs), V_1 and V_2 cannot be adjacent to each other, as in (2), and third, in directional verb constructions (DVCs), V_1 and V_2 can be optionally adjacent to each other, as in (3). (The asterisk indicates that the sentences are ungrammatical.)

(1) RVCs: V_1 and V_2 should be adjacent to each other

a. Ta xue hui le Fawen.
he study know Perf. French
'He learned French'

b. *Ta xue Fawen hui le.
he study French know Perf.
'He learned French.'

(2) SVCs: V_1 and V_2 cannot be adjacent to each other

a. Ta mai jiu he.
he buy wine drink
'He bought wine to drink.'

b. *Ta mai he jiu.
he buy drink wine
'He bought wine to drink.'

DVCs: V_1 and V_2 can be optionally adjacent to each other

a. Ta na le yi ben shu lai.
he take Perf. one Cl. book come
'He brought a book.'

b. Ta na lai le yi ben shu.
he take come Perf. one Cl. book
'He brought a book.'

In the RVCs, as shown in (1a), V_1 *xue* 'study' is an activity verb while V_2 *hui* 'know' is the result state of this activity. Since the two verbs should be adjacent to each other in an RVC, the noun phrase (NP) *Fawen* 'French' intervening between V_1 and V_2 results in the ungrammaticality of the sentence, as in (1b). In the SVCs, as shown in (2a), the first event *mai* 'buy' is done for the purpose of achieving the second *he* 'drink'. In this type of construction, the two verbs cannot occur adjacently. If they do, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (2b). In the DVCs, as shown in (3a) and (3b), the first verb *na* 'take' implies a displacement of the direct object,

and the second verb *lai* 'come' signals that the displacement is toward the speaker of the sentence. In this type of construction, the two verbs allow themselves either to be separated, with the direct object of the verb such as *yi ben shu* (one Cl. book) 'a book' intervening between the displacement verb (e.g. *na* 'take') and the directional verb (e.g. *lai* 'come'), or to occur adjacently, with the direct object displaced after the second verb.

This paper discusses the differences and the similarities in terms of aspectuality among these three constructions: RVCs, SVCs, and DVCs in Mandarin. It points out that (a) the imperative forms are possible only in the constructions where V_1 and V_2 are not adjacent to each other, (b) V_1 and V_2 can be fused into an accomplishment verb only when these two verbs occur adjacently, and (c) an English accomplishment verb such as *learn* allows two interpretations when modified by the adverb *almost*, while a Mandarin accomplishment verb such as *xue-hui* (study-know) 'learn' only allows one interpretation when modified by the same adverb. This paper proceeds as follows: Section 2 is the theoretical background for this paper, Section 3 discusses the syntactic and the semantic properties of the constructions, and Section 4 is the concluding remarks.

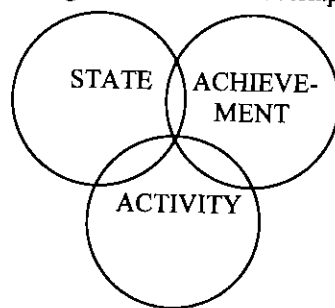
SOME THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. ASPECTUAL VERBAL CLASSES

Vendler (1967) distinguishes four basic categories of verbs according to their aspectual properties: activities (e.g. *walk* and *play*), accomplishments (e.g. *paint a picture* and *learn*), achievements (e.g. *find* and *win*), and states (e.g. *know* and *think*). Achievements and accomplishments are telic since they express eventualities with a set terminal point. Activities and states express eventualities with no set terminal point; therefore, they are atelic. Dowty (1979) uses *states* as primitives and reformulates Vendler's four categories by making explicit the derivational relationship between the categories. In his aspectual calculus, achievements are derived from states (state A becomes state B), and accomplishments are derived from achievements (some action causes state A to become state B). Activities are often part of accomplishments and often involve 'unmediated self-control' by the agent. Though linguists have different classification of the verbs, they commonly agree that these aspectual verb classes have played an important role in linguistic analysis since these categories reveal the compositional nature of language and determine the occurrence of their dependent constituents such as adverbials (e.g. *for an hour* and *in an hour*).

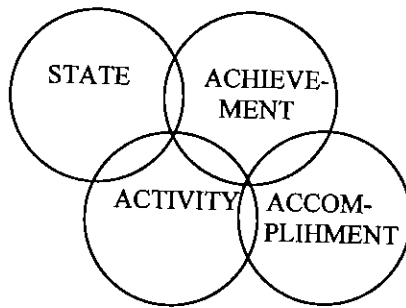
Adverbial expressions such as *in an hour* can occur only with telic events, while adverbials such as *for an hour* can occur only with atelic events. The felicity of the adverbial *in an hour* in the sentences *They painted a picture in an hour*/**for an hour* and *They found the watch in an hour*/**for an hour* provides grounds for establishing that the situation described in these examples is delimited or telic. The felicity of the adverbial *for an hour* in the sentences *They played in the garden for an hour*/**in an hour* and *They know each other for an hour*/**in an hour* indicates that the situation is undelimited or atelic.

However, the categorization is not always clearly cut off since all aspectual situations are related to one another by one feature or the other. According to Zhang (1995), the relationships of core situations (states, activities, and achievements) can be diagrammed as three overlapping subdomains.



The overlapping areas represent common semantic properties shared by the subdomains. For instance, both states and achievements lack an internal phase (e.g. both of them usually do not occur in the progressive), whereas both states and activities are temporally indefinite. An accomplishment shares features with activities in terms of duration as well as with achievements in regard to an endpoint. According to Zhang (1995: 15),

dynamicity and change are properties associated with both achievements and activities, upon which accomplishments are built.



2.2. ADVERBIALS AND THE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE VERB COMPLEXES

In English there is an important distinction between accomplishments and non-accomplishments based on their interaction with scalar adverbials such as *almost*. Consider the sentences in (4) and the possible interpretations associated with each:

- (4) a. John almost swam.

John almost painted a picture.

- c. John almost learned French.

In sentence (4a), John almost performed an activity of swimming, but did not even begin it. Sentence (4b), on the other hand, allows two interpretations. One is similar to (4a), where John almost engaged himself in painting, but then did not. The other interpretation is that John was painting but did not quite complete the picture. (4c) also permits two readings along the same lines as (4b). In English, an ambiguity arises with *almost* only when the predicate is an accomplishment.

On the basis of Vendlerian four categories, Tai (1984: 291) argues that states and activities in Chinese have the same properties of indefinite time as in English, but accomplishment verbs such as *learn* in English do not exist in Mandarin. He explains that an English accomplishment verb such as *learn* is equivalent to a verb complex (e.g. an RVC) in Mandarin, namely, *xue-hui* 'study-know'. The English accomplishment expression such as *paint a picture* has its equivalent in Chinese *hua le yi zhang hua* (paint Perf. one Cl. picture) which may or may not imply the attainment of goal. A goal is clearly expressed only when a resultative verb in the second part of a verb complex is used, for example, *wan* 'finish' in *hua-wan le yi zhang hua* (paint-finish Perf. one Cl. picture).

Consider the Mandarin sentences in (5) and the possible interpretations associated with each:

- (5) a. Zhangsan jihu xue hui le Fawen.
 Zhangsan almost study know Perf. French
 'Zhangsan was studying French, but he did not quite acquire it.'
- b. Zhangsan jihu hua wan le yi zhang hua.
 Zhangsan almost paint finish Perf. one Cl. picture
 'Zhangsan was painting but did not quite complete the picture.'

In sentence (5a), Zhangsan performed the activity of studying, but he did not reach the goal of learning it. The interpretation of (5b) permits the reading along the same lines as (5a).

In the following sections, I will analyze the complex predicates in Mandarin in terms of Vendler's aspectuality and see how the aspectuality contributes to the semantic interpretations.

3. COMPLEX PREDICATES IN MANDARIN

3.1. SOME SYNTACTIC PHENOMENA IN MANDARIN RVCS, SVCS, AND DVCs

In addition to the variant distribution of V_2 in the Mandarin RVCs, SVCs, and DVCs, there are two other syntactic phenomena in which these constructions behave differently. First, the SVCs have the imperative forms, as in (6), while the RVCs do not, as in (7).

- (6) (Buyao) mai jiu he.
not buy wine drink
'(Don't) buy wine to drink.'

- (7) *Xue hui Fawen.
study know French
'Learn French.'

However, the DVCs have dual properties. They behave like RVCs, prohibiting the imperative forms when V_1 and V_2 are adjacent to each other, as in (8a), but they behave like SVCs, allowing themselves to occur in the imperative forms when V_1 and V_2 are not adjacent to each other, as in (8b).

- (8)a. *Na lai yi ben shu.
take come one Cl. book
'Bring a book.'

- b. Na yi ben shu lai.
take one Cl. book come
'Bring a book.'

Second, the SVC in (9) as well as the RVC in (10) is composed of two lexical verbs, either of which can project into an independent sentence, as in (9b-c) and (10b-c), respectively. However, when the verbs of a construction occur in the two separate clauses with a conjunction *buguo* 'but', these two constructions behave differently. That is, an SVC allows its verbs to occur in the separate clauses, as in (9d), while an RVC does not, as in (10d). To salvage the structure, the first verb must be repeated in the second clause in an RVC, as in (10e) since the two verbs in an RVC function syntactically and semantically as a unitary unit.

- (9) a. Ta mai jiu he.
he buy wine drink
'He bought wine to drink.'
- b. Ta mai jiu.
he buy wine
'He bought wine.'
- c. Ta he jiu.
he drink wine
'He drank wine.'
- d. Ta mai le jiu, buguo meiyou he.
he buy Perf. wine but do not drink
'He bought wine, but he did not drink it.'

- (10)a. Ta xue hui le Fawen.
he study know Perf. French
'He learned French.'

- b. Ta xue Fawen.
he study French
'He studies French.'
- c. Ta hui Fawen.
he know French
'He knows French.'
- d. *Ta xue le Fawen, buguo meiyou hui.
he study Perf. French but do not know
'He studied French, but did not learn it.'
- e. Ta xue le Fawen, buguo meiyou xue hui.
he study Perf. French but do not study know
'He studied French, but did not learn it'

It has been pointed out that a DVC has two possible surface forms, with V_2 either occurring immediately after V_1 , or after the direct object of V_1 , as repeated in (11a) and (11b). Like an RVC and an SVC, a DVC is also composed of two verbs, but unlike the RVC and SVC, it only allows V_1 to project into an independent sentence since V_1 is the displacement verb and has a full-fledged verbal property, as in (12a), but it does not permit V_2 to occur in an independent sentence since the second verb only denotes the direction of the displacement, as in (12b). In addition, like an RVC, a DVC does not allow its verbs to occur in the separate clauses without copying V_1 in the second clause, as illustrated in (12c) and (12d).

- (11)a. Ta na le yi ben shu lai
he take Perf. one Cl. book come
'He brought a book.'
- b. Ta na lai le yi ben shu.
he take come Perf. one Cl. book
'He brought a book.'
- (12)a. Ta na le yi ben shu.
he take Perf. one Cl. book
'He took a book.'
- *Shu lai le.
Book come Perf.
'The book came (toward the speaker).'
- c. *Ta na le yi ben shu, buguo meiyou lai.
he take Perf. one Cl. book but do not come
'He took a book, but he did not bring it here.'
- d. Ta na le yi ben shu, buguo meiyou na lai.
he take Perf. one Cl. book but do not take come
'He took a book, but he did not bring it here.'

In summary, we find that SVCs have the imperative forms, while RVCs do not. The DVCs have the imperative forms only when the two verbs do not occur adjacently. If the two verbs occur adjacently, the DVCs do not have the imperative forms. In addition, we also find that SVCs allow the two verbs to occur in the separate clauses, while RVCs do not unless the first verb is copied in the second clause. Like RVCs, DVCs do not allow their verbs to be separated in different clauses without the first verb being repeated in the second

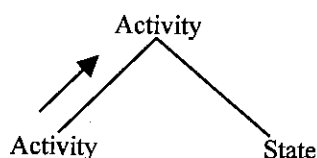
clause. In what follows, I examine the semantic properties associated with these three constructions in Mandarin.

3.2. FUSION AND PROJECTION

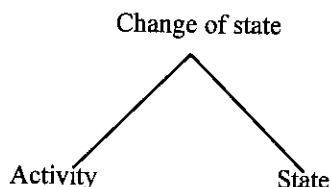
As previously discussed, an English accomplishment verb such as *learn* is considered to have two internal subevents (i.e. activity and state), which are represented overtly by two different predicates (e.g. V_1 *xue* 'study' and V_2 *hui* 'know') in Mandarin. In the following, I will explain why an English accomplishment verb allows two interpretations when it occurs with the adverb *almost*, while a Chinese derived accomplishment verb (e.g. an RVC) allows only one interpretation, and how the same approach can be used to account for the different semantic behaviors among Mandarin RVCs, SVCs, and DVCs.

In Section 2.2, I have discussed that the ambiguity arises when the English sentences with accomplishments occur with *almost*. To examine how the ambiguity arises, I suggest that when two subevents (e.g. an activity and a state) are composed into a complex event (e.g. an accomplishment), the category of the complex event can result from either Projection or Fusion. By Projection, the category of the activity subevent becomes the category of a complex event, as in (13), and by Fusion, a third category results from the fusion of the two subevents, as in (14).

(13) Projection: an operation by which the activity subevent of a complex event projects as the aspectual head, determining the properties of that unit.



(14) Fusion: an operation in which the activity and the state subevents of a complex event are fused, resulting in a change of state.



In English, the sentence *John almost learned French* allows two interpretations. One interpretation is that John never carried out the action of learning; the adverb *almost* modifies the activity subevent when it projects, as the diagram in (13) illustrates. The other interpretation is that the action of learning started but was not fully completed; the adverb *almost* modifies the change of state, resulting from the fusion of the activity and the state subevents, as the diagram in (14) illustrates. Since there are two possible operations (i.e. Projection and Fusion) associated with the verb *learn*, the sentence can have two readings associated with the *almost*-adverb. The atelic expressions such as *John almost ran* and *John almost knew the answer* do not have a second reading since they are compatible with Projection, but not with Fusion. The lack of Fusion prevents the atelic expressions from producing an additional interpretation associated with *almost*, as shown in (15).

- (15)a. Activity [almost]
 |
 Activity [run]
- b. State [almost]
 |
 State [know]

As previously discussed, English accomplishments can undergo either Fusion or Projection; therefore, there are two possible interpretations associated with the *almost*-adverb. However, Mandarin accomplishments can only undergo Fusion; therefore, there is only one interpretation when modified by the adverb *jihu* 'almost'. Due

to the modification of the change of state, resulting from Fusion, *jihu* 'almost' prevents the assertability of the expression associated with the logical culmination of the event; namely that Zhangsan knows French, as in (16).

- (16) Zhangsan jihu xue hui le Fawen.
 Zhangsan almost study know Perf. French
 'Zhangsan was studying French, but he did not quite acquire it.'

Since Mandarin accomplishments can undergo Fusion, resulting in a change of state, the frame adverbial such as *zai san nian nei* 'in three years' can make reference to the change of state, describing the time that has elapsed before the change of state occurs, as shown in (17).

- (17) Zhangsan zai san nian nei xue hui le Fawen.
 Zhangsan in three years in study know Perf. French
 'Zhangsan learned French in three years.'

The interpretations associated with *almost*-adverb and *in*-adverb show that an Mandarin RVC is only compatible with Fusion. However, when the same tests are examined in an SVC, it is observed that the two verbs do not fuse into a change of state, and it is V_1 rather than V_2 that can project as the semantic head, as illustrated in (18) and (19).

- (18) Ta zai sanshi fenzhong nei mai jiu he.
 he in thirty minutes in buy wine drink
 'He went to buy wine to drink within thirty minutes.'

- (19) Ta cha-yi-dian mai jiu he.
 he almost buy wine drink
 'He almost bought wine to drink.'

In the Mandarin SVC, as in (18), the frame adverbial *zai sanshi fenzhong nei* 'in thirty minutes' refers to the buying event (e.g. V_1) which takes place during the time-span of thirty minutes. This adverbial cannot be used to describe the time that has elapsed before the drinking event (e.g. V_2) takes place. When the adverb *almost* occurs in an SVC, as in (19), this adverb only modifies V_1 , which means that he almost performed an event of buying, but he never carried out the action. From the *in*-adverb and the *almost*-adverb tests, it is found that in the Mandarin SVCs, only V_1 can project as the semantic head.

As for the DVCs, there are two possible surface forms, with V_1 adjacent to V_2 , or with V_1 separated from V_2 . We find that when V_1 is separated from V_2 in a DVC, the frame adverbial such as *zai sanshi fenzhong nei* 'in thirty minutes' can only modify V_1 , as in (20a). But if V_1 is adjacent to V_2 in a DVC, the frame adverbial refers to the change of state, describing the time-span of bringing a book here, as in (20b).

- (20)a. Ta zai sanshi fenzhong nei na le yi ben shu lai.
 he in thirty minutes in take Perf. one Cl. book come
 'He brought a book within thirty minutes.'
- b. Ta zai sanshi fenzhong nei na lai le yi ben shu.
 he in thirty minutes in take come Perf. one Cl. book
 'He brought a book in thirty minutes.'

When the adverb *almost* occurs in the DVC where the two verbs are not adjacent to each other, the adverb only modifies V_1 , preventing the performance of the buying activity, as in (21a). But if it occurs in the DVC where the two verbs are adjacent to each other, then it modifies the change of state, preventing the reach of the goal, as in (21b).

- (21)a. Ta cha-yi-dian na yi ben shu lai.
 he almost take one Cl. book come
 'He almost brought a book to come here.'
- b. Ta cha-yi-dian na lai yi ben shu.
 he almost take come one Cl. book
 'He almost brought a book.'

The *in*-adverb and *almost*-adverb tests confirm DVCs' dual properties. That is, the DVCs behave like the SVCs when the two verbs occur separately, while they behave like the RVCs when the two verbs occur adjacently.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper, I propose that the two subevents of a complex event can be fused into a change of state by Fusion, or the activity subevent can project as the head by Projection. The fact that an English accomplishment verb (e.g. *learn*) is compatible with either Fusion or Projection, while a Mandarin accomplishment (e.g. an RVC) is only compatible with Fusion explains why Mandarin has only one possible interpretation while English has two when modified by the adverb *almost*.

In Mandarin SVCs, the complex predicates cannot fuse into a complex event by Fusion, but they allow the first predicate to be projected by Projection. In Mandarin DVCs, it is interesting to find that only the first predicate can project by Projection when the complex predicates do not occur adjacently, but the complex predicates are allowed to fuse into a change of state when they occur adjacently. It is possible that Fusion requires the adjacency condition on the complex predicates in Mandarin. If this is the case, then we can account for why the complex predicates in SVCs can never fuse into a change of state. It is because the adjacency condition is violated in the SVCs.

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SUBJECTIVE REACTIONS TO ARABIC AND JAPANESE-ACCENTED ENGLISH IN HAWAII

Atiqah Hachimi, *Department of Linguistics*

ABSTRACT

It has been shown that accents and dialects influence evaluations and perception of others. This study examines native English speakers' attitudes toward Arabic and Japanese-accented English in Hawaii.

The purpose of the study was 1) to elicit native English speakers' reactions to heavy and light Arabic and Japanese English accents; 2) to examine the extent to which native speakers' (un)familiarity with a non-native accent biases their perceptions; and 3) to explore whether stereotypes projected in the media about a certain ethnic group can be triggered by a minimal cue such as the accent of the speaker. Preliminary findings indicate that light accents were favored on traits of status, solidarity and charisma by native respondents. Familiarity with Japanese-accented English in Hawaii doesn't seem to guarantee favorable attitudes by native speakers. Finally, reactions to Arabic-accented speakers reflect stereotypes that the media project and perpetuate about Arabs.

1. INTRODUCTION

Research on language attitudes has demonstrated that accents and dialects influence evaluations and perceptions of others (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1981; McKirman & Hamayan, 1984; Garner & Rubin, 1986; Giles & Coupland, 1991). Non-native accents have been shown to evoke negative reactions because of intelligibility, or simply because they are inferred to belong to a particular ethnic or social group (see Giles, 1971; Ryan, 1977; cf. Eisenstein, 1983). In this study, we will explore whether it is the degree of the accent that influences native speakers' perceptions the most or whether it is the ethnic group to which the speaker belongs that is the deciding factor in eliciting certain attitudes.

In investigating this question, an experiment was conducted to compare people's subjective reactions toward two non-native accents in Hawai'i: Japanese-accented English versus Arabic-accented English. The first objective of this experiment was to measure attitudes toward heavy and light accents regardless of their ethnic background. A multitude of studies have reported that individuals show more favorable attitudes toward people with accents similar to their own than people with different accents (Edwards, 1982; Giles & Johnson, 1981; Hurt & Weaver, 1972; Ryan & Sebastian, 1980). Based on these findings we would expect that heavy accents, because of their notable dissimilarity from native speech, would be viewed less favorably than light accents which are closely 'similar' to native accents. In other words, native speakers will have negative reactions to heavy accents because these do not bear a close resemblance to their own accents.

Hypothesis 1: Heavy accents will trigger less favorable attitudes from native listeners than light accents.

Intelligibility is an important factor in native speakers attitude formation about accented speakers. The more intelligible a non-native accent, the more favorable the attitudes (see Gill 1994). Smith and Bisazza (1981) hold that active exposure to non-native accents allows native speakers to surmount the intelligibility obstacle. In Hawai'i, native English speakers may have the greatest amount of exposure to Japanese-accented English because of the large number of Japanese people who live on or visit the Islands. Thus, Japanese English might be considered a familiar and more than likely an intelligible non-native accent to native speakers of English in Hawai'i. Arabic-accented English, on the other hand, may be more difficult to understand by native English speakers in Hawai'i, especially in its heaviest form, because of lesser or no everyday exposure to this variety. This is due primarily to the insignificant number of Arab residents and tourists in the Islands. Therefore, the second goal of this study is to examine the extent to which native speakers' (un)familiarity with a non-native accent biases their perceptions.

Hypothesis 2: Familiar non-native accents will trigger more favorable attitudes than unfamiliar non-native accents.

It has been noted that the media have the potential for instilling and reinforcing ideas, beliefs, and attitudes (Klapper, 1960; Baran & Davis, 1995). The third goal of this experiment is to examine whether a minimal cue such as the accent of the speaker will trigger stereotypes that the media project about a certain ethnic group. North American media has been shown to cast a negative image about Arabs and promote negative stereotypes about them (see Ghareeb, 1983). Ghareeb has thoroughly examined the image of the Arabs that American television has projected over the years and suggested that barbarism and violence are some of the stereotypes that television perpetuates about Arabs. With the belief that the media has the potential of shaping one's perceptions, it is conceivable that listening to Arabic-accented English might trigger negative reactions and bring to the surface some of the stereotypes associated with Arabs.

Hypothesis 3: Arabic-accented English will prompt less favorable reactions than Japanese-accented English.

2. METHOD

2. A. DEGREES OF ACCENTS

Two opposing degrees of accents were used, heavy and light. Heavy accents are defined as those in which there is considerable interference from the speakers' native language. In the case of Arabic, heavy accents were selected based on the typical substitutions made in the Arabic pronunciation of English, b for p, trilled r for retroflex ɖ, epenthesis, i.e., insertion of vowels to break consonant clusters, e.g. isplit for split, dogis for dogs, and misplacement of stress.

Japanese accents, on the other hand, reflect measurably different kinds of substitutions: Substitution of s and z for ʃ and ʒ, respectively, e.g. [ʃm] for [sm] sing and [wayʒ] for [wayz] wise, substitution of l and r with the Japanese tap ɾ, and the use of mora timing instead of stress timing in pronouncing English, e.g. miruku for milk and dogu for dog (see Stanlaw 1992.)

Contrary to heavy accents, light accents, both Arabic and Japanese, show very little interference from their first language, if any. Their pronunciation of English is near-native in the sense that it is not considered to be a foreign accent by native speakers of English in Hawai'i. Rather, light accents were thought to be native mainland USA or British accents.

2. B. STIMULI

Fourteen native speakers of English were asked to assess the degree of accentedness of 18 Arabic and Japanese candidates using a 3 point scale (heavy, medium, light). Only those speakers who were rated as having either a heavy or light accent were selected for the experiment. Thus, out of 18 candidates, 4 Arabs (2 males and 2 females) and 4 Japanese (2 males and 2 females) were chosen to serve as stimuli for heavy and light accents of Arabic and Japanese. All 8 subjects were adults; their ages varied from 25 to 46.

The basic stimuli used in this experiment were tape recordings of these eight candidates reading the same 265-word English passage of prose about family pets. The passage was chosen carefully to contain a substantial amount of the phonological features mentioned in section 2.a in order to reflect accentedness in speakers' pronunciation.

2. C. RESPONDENTS

Forty two male and female students from different departments and different majors at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and Hawai'i Pacific University participated in this study. Their ages ranged from 20 to 47.

They were all chosen on the basis that they have had no prior contact with Arabic people but they have had contact with Japanese people.

From the outset, respondents were informed that all the speakers would be reading the same English text. The explanation of the respondents task echoed that of Giles & Coupland (1991) such as "It's like listening to a voice behind you while sitting in a bar or talking to a stranger on the phone and we are interested in the kind of reactions that you might have toward that person." Respondents were not told about the objectives of the study until they had completed their evaluations of all 8 speakers and answered the personal profile questionnaire.

2.D. QUESTIONNAIRES

The study relies on two questionnaires. The first one contained 20 item questions about the accented speakers and the second is a personal profile questionnaire about the respondents, and about the degree of their contact with Arab and Japanese people.

Language attitude studies rely on several traits of *solidarity* and *status* to measure subjective reactions to accents and dialects (Stewart, Ryan & Giles 1985; Giles & Coupland 1991). *Solidarity* evolves around the perceived kindness and sense of humor of the speaker; *status* includes the perceived education, intelligence and job suitability of the speaker. Bayard (1991a) argued against the dichotomous and superficial division of traits into *solidarity* and *status* dimensions. He noted that adding other dimensions gives a more accurate picture of the complexities of attitudes. Bayard then added a dimension of *charisma*, which focuses on the perceived likeability of the speaker. In this study, charisma also includes how convincing and articulate a speaker is and whether he/she can serve as a spokesperson. For our purposes here, other characteristics were included in order to measure some of the stereotypes associated with Arabs, particularly the one about terrorism and violence. The questions that were used as the basis for measuring violence asked whether the speaker is perceived to be most likely threatening and harmful. Thus, the adjective traits in the questionnaire can be grouped in four classes: solidarity, charisma, status and violence. All the items that were used as the basis for the four traits examined are summarized in Table 1. Respondents answered questions using a 4-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

Table 1: Summary of the items used as the basis for solidarity, charisma, status and violence.

Solidarity	Charisma	Status	Violence
Friendly	Likeable	Intelligent	Harmful
Funny	Annoying	Highly educated	Abusive
Trustworthy	Convincing	Enterprising	Aggressive
Serious	Arrogant	Job suitability	Hostile
Reassuring	Articulate		Threatening

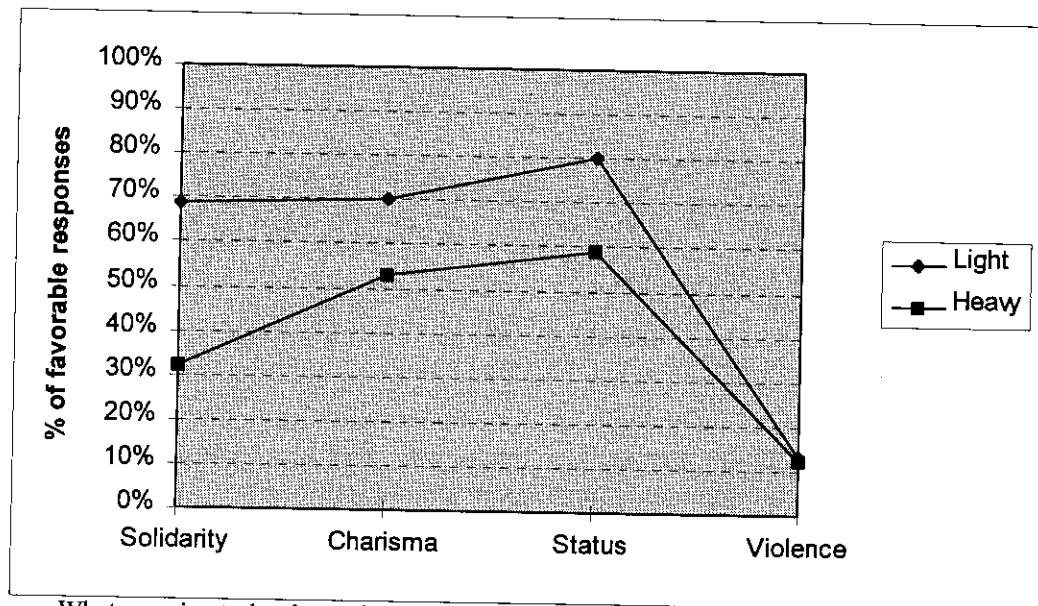
2.E. ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES

Responses were coded and analyzed as being favorable or unfavorable. A *Strongly agree* or *agree* response was considered favorable, while *disagree* or *strongly disagree* was considered unfavorable. Responses for all the variables under study were converted into percentages in order to be able to compare differences and similarities between respondent's evaluations with respect to each variable. Due to the limitations of percentages to show statistical significance or lack of it, a chi-square test was calculated as well to determine significant differences between the accent variables.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Figure 1 presents the main findings with respect to solidarity, charisma, status, and violence rating factors for light and heavy accents. By comparing listeners' attitudes toward light and heavy accents in Figure 1 below, it is clear that light accents were reacted to more favorably than heavy accents on traits of solidarity, charisma and status by all respondents. However, respondents did not favor light accents over heavy ones on dimension of violence.

Figure 1. Native respondents attitudes toward light and heavy accents on solidarity, charisma, status, and violence dimensions.



What remains to be determined, however, is whether there is a significant difference between the ratings respondents had vis-à-vis light and heavy accents for each single trait.

Solidarity: A significant difference was observed for the solidarity trait between light and heavy accents in the ratings of respondents ($X^2 = 80.75011$, $p < .001$). Hence, a significant preference for light-accented speakers on solidarity dimension over heavy-accented speakers is quite obvious.

Charisma: American respondents have shown a polarization of light and heavy accents regarding charisma, ($X^2 = 20.75158$, $p < .001$). That is to say, listeners were significantly more likely to rate light accented-speakers higher.

Status: Arab and Japanese speakers with light accents were considered to have significantly more status than heavy-accented speakers by native speakers ($X^2 = 31.51427$, $p < .001$).

Violence: American listener-judges' ratings ($X^2 = 0.000555$, $p < .5$), on the other hand, do not show any significant difference between heavy and light accents as far as violence is concerned.

So far we have seen support for hypothesis 1: heavy-accented English speakers were perceived less favorably on dimensions of solidarity, charisma and status than light-accented speakers. These findings replicate to a large extent those of Ryan et al (1977), which have shown that the more accented the speech the stronger the stereotype. On the other hand, no robust correlations were found with respect to violence and speakers' degree of accentedness by the respondents.

It is important to examine how respondents reacted to Arabic-accented speech on the one hand and to Japanese-accented speech on the other. Looking into this question allows us to test hypotheses 3 and 4. However, before putting ethnicity of the speaker as the primary variable and comparing attitudes toward light and heavy Arabic accents to light and heavy Japanese accents, it should be mentioned that light accents are not

always identified as belonging to either ethnic group. They were identified by some as native speakers of English and by others as Europeans. Table 2 presents findings of the correct identification of each speaker's ethnic affiliation.

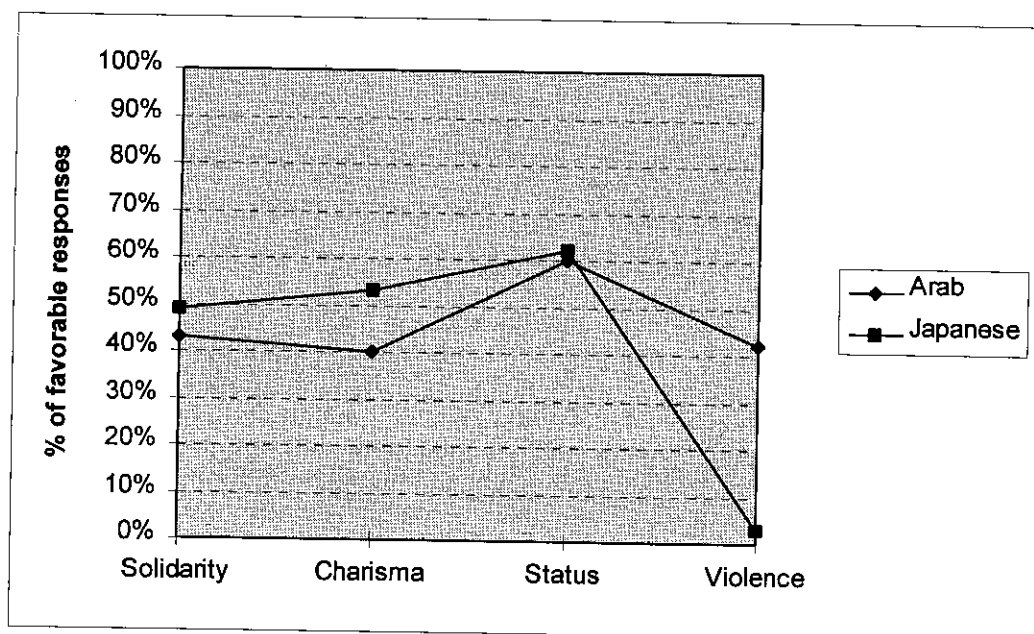
Table 2: Percentage of correct identification by native English speakers of light and heavy Arabic and Japanese speakers

Speakers	% of correct identification
Light Arabic-accented male (LAM)	13.33%
Light Arabic-accented female (LAF)	5.56%
Heavy Arabic-accented male (HAM)	83.44%
Heavy Arabic-accented female (HAF)	11.11%
Light Japanese-accented male (LJM)	5.56%
Light Japanese-accented female (LJF)	11.11%
Heavy Japanese-accented male (HJM)	96.67%
Heavy Japanese-accented female (HJF)	88.89%

Results in Table 2 show that light accents are not reliably recognized as being Arabic or Japanese. Therefore it would be misleading to compare attitudes toward Arabs and Japanese based on light accents. Interestingly, the heavy-accented Arabic female subject was not correctly identified as Arab while the Japanese female with a heavy accent was identified as being Japanese by 88.89% of the respondents.

Results shown here, especially with respect to light-accented male and female speakers and heavy-accented Arabic female, support those reported in Smith and Bisazza (1981) where the nationality of the speaker was difficult to determine from a tape recorder. This, however, doesn't seem to hold for heavy-accented male speakers and heavy-accented Japanese female speakers whose percentage of correct identification was remarkably high. Consequently, focus in this study will be only on heavy-accented speakers and specifically only heavy-accented male speakers in comparing attitudes toward Arabic-accented English and Japanese-accented English and testing hypotheses 2 and 3.

Figure 2. American respondents attitudes toward Arabic and Japanese male heavy accents on solidarity, charisma, status, and violence dimensions.



Solidarity: The main findings with respect to the subjective reactions of American respondents to Arabic and Japanese male accents on solidarity dimension do not show a significant difference between Arabic and Japanese heavy accents ($\chi^2 = 0.029656$, $p < .5$).

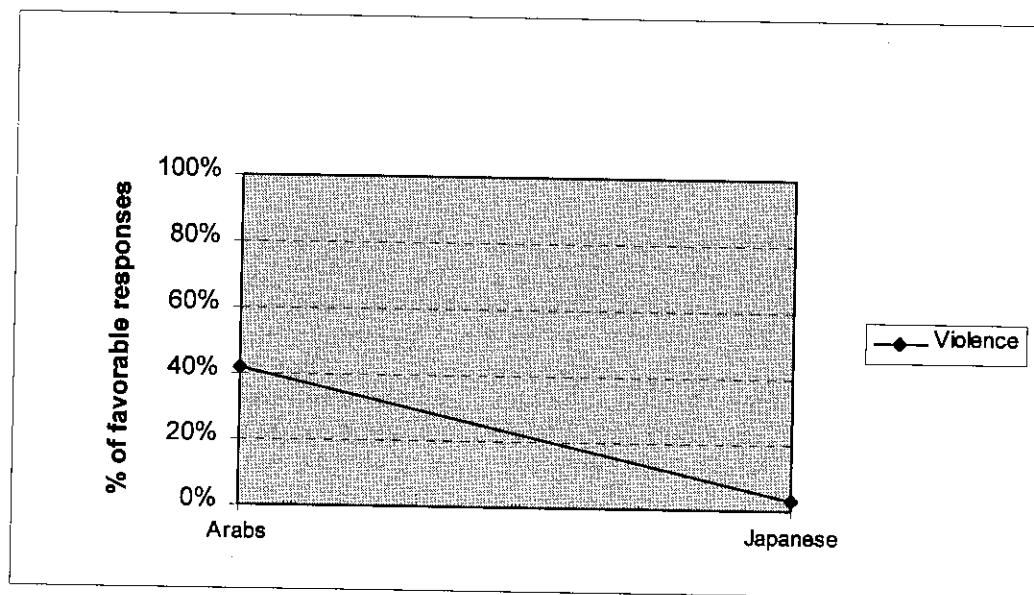
Charisma: Like solidarity, charisma is not found to index any difference between heavy Arabic and Japanese accents. The associated value of p is below .05, which does not make it significant at all ($\chi^2 = 2.995174$).

Status: Findings regarding the perceived status of heavy Arabic-accented English speakers versus their Japanese counterparts do not reflect a difference between these two groups. Chi-square results show that these speakers are not significantly differentiated on status traits according to whether their accents sound Japanese or Arabic ($\chi^2 = 0.153409$, $p < .5$).

The results didn't support hypothesis 2, which links familiarity of the accent to more favorable attitudes. Native speakers didn't seem to prefer the heavy Japanese accent to the heavy Arabic accent on dimensions of solidarity, charisma and status.

Violence: The polarization between speakers with an Arabic influenced accent and those with a Japanese influenced accent vis-à-vis violence is striking. Although the ratings are not very high for either the Arabic or the Japanese speakers, it is a very telling result, 1) violence is the first trait which significantly differentiates between Arabic and Japanese heavy-accented speakers (the associated value of $p < .001$ is highly significant) and 2) perceiving Arabic-accented speakers as being threatening by 42% of the respondents echoes stereotypes held about Arabs in the media. Figure 3 shows results of the perceived violence of heavy Arabic-accented English and Japanese-accented English speakers.

Figure 3. American respondents' attitudes toward Arabic and Japanese male heavy accents on violence dimension.



Violence seems to be a significant differentiating index of Arabic and Japanese accents for respondents. Arabic-accented English speakers are perceived to be more threatening than Japanese-accented English speakers. Violence is a stereotypical trait that the American media associate with Arabs. Therefore, finding that violence significantly differentiates heavy Arabic accents from heavy Japanese accents suggests strongly that the media has an impact on listeners' subjective reactions to Arab people. It is important to note that accent seems to be the determining factor here since other aspects such as the volume of the voice and the words that speakers used were controlled for.

4. CONCLUSION

This study has supported the hypothesis that light accents will be evaluated more favorably than heavy accents on traits related to solidarity, charisma and status. In other words, listener-judges viewed light-accented speakers as being more intelligent, enterprising, persuasive, convincing, friendly, having a better sense of humor than heavy-accented speakers. These findings replicate to a large extent those of Ryan & Sebastian (1980), Edwards (1982) and others, which have shown that accents which sound close to native are preferred by native speakers. In the same vein, these findings support the claim that the more accented the speech the stronger the stereotype.

However, the results didn't support hypothesis 2, which links familiarity of the accent to more favorable attitudes. Native speakers didn't seem to prefer the heavy Japanese accent to the heavy Arabic accent on dimensions of solidarity, charisma and status. The study, however, did not support the hypothesis that familiarity or greater intelligibility of an accent will guarantee more positive attitudes by native speakers as maintained by Smith & Bissaza (1981) and Gill (1994). Respondents in this study were oblivious to their familiarity with the Japanese accent, and showed negative feelings to heavy accents regardless of whether it is familiar or not. It is somewhat surprising that, in light of previous research, active exposure to and familiarity with a foreign accent should have no positive impact on native speakers.

Furthermore, findings did not fully support the hypothesis that Arabic-accented English speakers will be viewed negatively on all traits. It has been shown that Arabic and Japanese accents were not significantly differentiated on solidarity, charisma and status dimensions. They were, however, significantly differentiated on dimensions of violence. Arabic-accented speakers were considered to be more violent than Japanese-accented speakers. Because this was the only dimension on which there was clear differentiation between the attitudes toward the two ethnic groups, and because this trait is a stereotypical representation of Arabs in North American media, it is evidence that media attempts are effective in instilling and perpetuating stereotypes about Arab people. The study, therefore, has supported the third hypothesis that a minimal cue such as the accent of the speaker can trigger stereotypes projected by the media.

4. A. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has addressed the question of the relationship between attitudes and media but has not examined the relationship between respondents' media usage and their corresponding attitudes. Furthermore, it has not looked at how spoken media actually influences attitudes toward a certain ethnic group. Future research must establish objectively how spoken media mediates negative feelings about different ethnic groups and how it shapes attitudes toward their accents.

NOTES

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THE TWO-WAY DISTINCTION FOR TIME AND SPACE: THE NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF BANANA YOSHIMOTO'S *KANASHII YOKAN*

Nobuko Koyama-Murakami, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

Japanese demonstratives, *so-* 'that (proximal)', and *a-* 'that (distal)' have both the anaphoric and the deictic functions. They are commonly used to mark the difference in either spatial, temporal or psychological distance between the speaker and the referent. Though these expressions are frequently and maximally used in conversations, we rarely find them employed as effectively in literary works as in conversations.

In Banana Yoshimoto's 1992 novel, *Kanashii Yokan* (lit. Sad Premonition), we can find the effective use of the two expressions, *so-/a-*, to indicate temporal shifts within the story. As is typical with narratives, the *story-now* time of *Kanashii Yokan* is set in the simple past tense and indicated by *so-* deictic expression. While the *story-now* time advances forward, the narrator (who is also the protagonist of the story) shifts back and forth between the *story-now* time and the *story-past* time by shifting from *so-* to *a-* deictic expressions. Interestingly, the time shifts between *so-* and *a-* in the story also represent shifts in perspective or focalization between the narrator and the protagonist.

1. INTRODUCTION

Reading a story requires many cognitive tasks. The readers cognitively situate themselves within a story world in order to view the on-going events as they unfold. Each story or narrative takes a particular perspective from which it is interpreted, and the readers continually adjust their view both temporally and spatially. A cognitive theory known as Deictic Shift Theory (Duchan, Bruder, and Hewitt 1995) explains such intricate tasks in terms of deixis.

In Banana Yoshimoto's *Kanashii Yokan*, two Japanese demonstratives, *so-* 'that (proximal)' and *a-* 'that (distal)' are effectively utilized in order to manipulate the spatio-temporal deixis. The distinct association between these demonstratives and the spatio-temporal deixis enables the readers to navigate through the story world.

This study first explains Deictic Shift Theory and some crucial notions, and then analyzes how the spatio-temporal aspect of *Kanashii Yokan* is manipulated by Japanese demonstratives.

2. SUMMARY OF THE STORY

Kanashii Yokan is a story about the narrator/protagonist Yayoi's discovery of her hidden past. She had lost her biological parents in an automobile accident in which she was also involved. The trauma left her with amnesia. One summer, when she was nineteen, her memory of the past gradually came back. She discovered that she was adopted and living with a new family. She also found out that the person whom she believed to be her aunt was actually her biological sister. Now that her past was revealed, Yayoi's relationship with her adoptive brother changes into romance and she turns a new leaf in her life.

In the earlier section of this story, Yayoi visits her aunt. The restoration of her hidden past memory during her stay at her aunt's house becomes the turning point of the story.

3. DEICTIC SHIFT THEORY

Deictic Shift Theory (Duchan, Bruder, and Hewitt 1995) is a cognitive theory of deixis in narrative. It views narrative as a story world that is coordinated and oriented by the speaker/narrator. Each narrative has a *deictic center* that, temporally and/or spatially, guides the readers to navigate through an intricate story world. Segal (1995:15) defines a deictic center and its function in narrative:

... when one reads a narrative as it is meant to be read, he or she is often required to take a cognitive stance within the world of the narrative. A location within the world of the narrative serves as the center from which the sentences are to be interpreted. In particular, deictic terms such as *here* and *now* refer to this conceptual location. It is thus the *deictic center*.

The story world has its own temporal and spatial orientation independent of the real world. The deictic center provides linguistic cues for the readers to constantly adjust their spatio-temporal coordinates as they read the story. For instance, when the readers encounter the following sentences in a given story,

'Last week, she was in Milan, yesterday she was back in New York. And now she is on the way to Paris,'

temporal phrases such as 'last week,' 'yesterday,' and 'now' have no reference to real time. The temporal perspective of the story is independent of the real time. As the character temporally advances from 'last week' to 'now,' she physically moves from 'Milan' to 'New York,' and from 'New York' to 'Paris' in the story world. The readers may also cognitively move along with the character temporally and spatially. Moreover, by placing these temporal phrases in the initial position, they function to mark a temporal shift. This temporal shift is called a temporal deictic center or WHEN (Zubin and Hewitt 1995). In the same way, a locational deictic center or WHERE is manipulated by preposing the spatial adverbial phrases. In addition to the temporal and spatial deixis, there is personal deixis called WHO. These three components (temporal, spatial, and personal) make up the deictic center.

Furthermore, each component takes two different perspectives: a focalizing perspective, and a focalized perspective:

Focalizing perspective (origin): Shifting localization in time, space, and person from which the story world is exposed to the reader/listener, establishing a point of view on the events of the story.

Focalized perspective (content): The objective of the focalizing perspective, that is the content of the deictic window as it moves along its spatial, temporal and personal coordinates through the story world. This represents the spatial, temporal, personal, and object contents of the story as viewed by the listener/reader through the deictic window (Zubin and Hewitt 1995:132).

For instance, the difference in focalization distinguishes the narrator and the protagonist in a first-person narrative. The narrator is a focalizing WHO that tracks the characters in the story. The protagonist is a focalized WHO whose actions are focused by the focalizing WHO. Within the story world, the focalized WHO is contingent upon the story time and space.

In narrative, each deictic center component shifts or maintains as the story unfolds. The narrator manipulates the deictic center to help the readers orient themselves within the story.

4. JAPANESE DEMONSTRATIVE AND DEIXIS

Japanese demonstratives, *ko-* 'this', *so-* 'that (proximal)', and *a-* 'that (distal)' have two separate functions, anaphoric and deictic. The following tables summarize their paradigm and functions discussed in the linguistic literature (Kuno 1973, Coulmas 1982, Watanabe 1998):

	<i>ko-</i>	<i>so-</i>	<i>a-</i>
Noun (sing.)	kore	sore	are
Adjective	kono	sono	ano
Place	koko	soko	asoko

Table 1. The Japanese demonstrative paradigm.

	<i>ko-</i>	<i>so-</i>	<i>a-</i>
<i>Anaphoric</i> (shared knowledge)	(semianaphorically used) Immediacy/ obviousness/visible object/close to the speaker	Either the speaker does not know the referent, or the speaker believes that the hearer does not know it. Most frequently used/unmarked anaphor.	The speaker believes that both the speaker and the hearer know the referent.
<i>Deictic</i> (proximity principle)	Close to the speaker. 'this time'	Close to the hearer. 'that earlier/later time'	Distal from both the speaker and the hearer. 'that remote time'

Table 2. The functional characteristics of demonstratives.

Of three demonstratives, *so*-terms are most frequently used and considered as unmarked. In narrative, the function of unmarked demonstrative is closely related to the unmarked tense.

Narrative is defined as a method of summarizing one's past experience by sequencing events according to the temporal order (Labov 1972). Thus, naturally the use of past tense is considered as unmarked (Fleischman 1990, Iwasaki 1993, Kamio 1997). This unmarked tense is referred to as *story-now* (Fleischman 1990:123), which distinguishes itself from the real-time NOW. In the story world, there is a time continuum running through *story-past*, *story-now*, and *story-future* that parallels the real-time continuum:

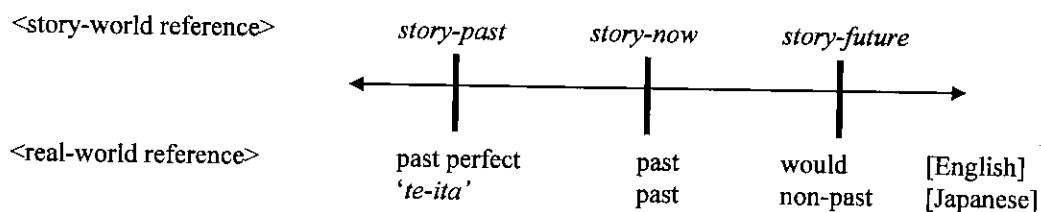


Figure 1. The time line.

The above parallel is basically applicable to Japanese as well. For example, upon encountering *sono toki* 'that time/then' in narrative, the readers are taken right into the *story-now* time. Once this temporal setting is established, the readers could assume that the past tense and *so*-terms are coupled together indicating on-going narrative events.

In the earlier section of *Kanashii Yokan*, there are frequent shifts between *so*-terms and *a*-terms. Just as *so*-terms are associated with the *story-now* time, *a*-terms are associated with the *story-past* time. These associations are key factors in manipulating the reader's focus in the story. The following section discusses the ways in which such associations are established and utilized in the story.

5. MARKING TIME AND SPACE

Typically with narrative, the *story-now* time of *Kanashii Yōkan* is set in the simple past tense. It is accompanied by *so*-terms such as *sono toki* 'that time/then,' *sono yoru* 'that night' and so forth. These deictic *so*-terms are contrasted with deictic *a*-terms in a narrative event depicting Yayoi's visit to her aunt's house in the story. The frequent shifts between *so*- and *a*-terms in that particular segment suggest that the narrator Yayoi shifts back and forth between the *story-now* time and the *story-past* time as her thought travels through time.

5.1. THE *STORY-PAST* TIME AND *A*-TERMS

Yayoi's encounter with her aunt is a crucial narrative event. Her visit begins as follows:

(1) *Ano dokutokuna iro-o shita kuuki oba-no iru kuukan-de wa sugi-te-yuku*
that (distal) unique color-Acc do-past air aunt-Gen be atmosphere-Dat Top pass-TE-go

jikan sae ashi-o osoku suru yooni omo-e-ta koto
time even foot-Acc slow do like think-able-past NM

'That uniquely colored air; I felt that the pace of passing time even slowed down in the atmosphere where my aunt was.'

(2) . . . *ano hitotoki-no inshoo-ga mune-ni yakitsui-ta*
that (distal) time-Gen impression-Nom bosom-Dat brand-past

'the impression about that particular moment was branded on my memory' (Yoshimoto 1992:17).

At the outset of the event, the narrator Yayoi reflects on her encounter with her aunt. She views this event as the past since this particular event had already occurred, at least, for the narrator Yayoi, although the readers are yet to find out about it. Notice Yayoi's evaluative comments such as *dokutokuna iro-o shita kuuki* 'unique atmosphere' and *mune-ni yakitsui-ta* 'branded in my memory.' These comments constitute the *raison d'être* of the event and explain that the event was remembered so strongly that Yayoi was driven to talk about it. Labov (1972) contends that a narrative is not complete without its *raison d'être* stated. In some cases, evaluative comments are more crucial than actual events happening in the story. Thus, clearly how Yayoi felt about the event described in (1) and (2) matters a great deal to a whole story.

Furthermore, note the use of *koto* in the sentence-final position of (1). This nominalizer literally means 'a fact' or 'a matter' in Japanese. Kuno (1973:221) explains that *koto* usually represents 'a general and abstract concept.' Interestingly, in (1), *koto* functions to summarize fragmented phrases that represent Yayoi's imagery of her aunt and her house.

By summarizing the event with her comments/imagery, the narrator prepares the readers for what follows in (1) and (2). The ability to summarize a given event is a functional characteristic of the narrator. Since the event described in (1) and (2) had already occurred in the narrator's perspective, she was able to reflect on the event. Therefore, every time the narrator Yayoi utters *ano*, it is clear to the readers that it is about the past. That is, *ano* is definitely associated with the *story-past* time. This association enables the readers to connect any noun phrase with *ano* (e.g., *ano dokutokuna iroo-o shita kuuki*) with the *story-past* time. In other words, once the association between *a*-terms and the *story-past* time is established, *a*-terms do not necessarily attach to temporal phrases to denote the *story-past* time.

5.2. THE *STORY-NOW* TIME AND *SO*-TERMS

In (1) and (2), the WHEN (or the temporal deictic center) is set in the *story-past* time temporally distant from both the narrator and the readers. When *ano* is shifted to *sono* in (3), the WHEN is shifted from the remote past/*story-past* to the *story-now* time:

(3) *Yagate kigi-no aida-ni oba-no ie-no shiroi kabe-ga araware sono potsurito*
soon tree-Gen between-Dat aunt-Gen house-Gen white wall-Nom appear that (proximal) alone/dimly

akari-no tsui-ta mado-ga mi-e-ta toki watashi-wa hotto shi-ta
light-Gen light-past window-Nom see-Pot-past I-Top relived do-past

'Soon the white walls of my aunt's house coming in sight between trees, when I found that dimly lighted window, I felt relieved' (Yoshimoto 1992:17).

Notice that the transition from the *story-past* time to the *story-now* time is made gradual by inserting a participle phrase in the sentence-initial position in (3). This participle phrase gradually guides the readers into the event. When the readers encounter *sono* in the middle of (3), the WHEN is shifted from the *story-past* time to the *story-now* time. By the time that shift occurs, the readers have already walked through the path from which they see the white walls of Yayoi's aunt's house as Yayoi sees them. This cognitive task makes it easier for the readers to shift to a different time frame.

The *so*-terms are proximal, signaling to the readers that the distance is now shortened compared to *a*-terms. Obviously, this distance is not just a physical one but also a temporal distance. By cognitively fixing their focus on Yayoi's eye, the readers are able to shorten a physical distance between Yayoi and her aunt's house. That distance also lies between Yayoi and the upcoming narrative event that awaits her in her aunt's house. Consequently, the physical distance is extended to the temporal dimension. As the physical distance becomes shortened, the temporal distance also becomes shortened.

In (3), the same event described in (1) and (2) is viewed differently. The event summarized in (1) and (2) is going to be experienced by the protagonist Yayoi who is trapped in the story world. In other words, the temporal shift from the *story-past* time to the *story-now* time also shifts the WHO (or the personal deictic center) from the narrator Yayoi (= the focalizing WHO) to the protagonist Yayoi (= the focalized WHO) (Zubin and Hewitt 1995:143). Interestingly, once the WHEN is shifted, the narrator's task is to track the protagonist who is confined within the story world. Although this event had already occurred in the narrator's perspective, it is yet to occur in the protagonist's perspective. *Sono* is closely associated with the protagonist's view. When the protagonist's perspective surfaces, the narrator's perspective is submerged. Upon encountering *sono*, the readers are taken inside the *story-now* time to follow the event as the protagonist experiences it:

(4) . . . *doa-ga gachari-to ai-ta* . . . *oba-wa soo i-tte hohoen-da* . . . *watashi-wa yume-no*
door-Nom click-Comp open-past aunt-Top so say-TE smile-past I-Top dream-Gen

yooni omoi nagara mitsume-ta
like think while stare-past

' . . . the door opened. . . my aunt smiled saying so . . . I stared at her, feeling that I was in the dream' (Yoshimoto 1992:18).

A series of acts in (4) follows (3). In (4), each act is temporally sequenced as the protagonist Yayoi experiences it: *ai-ta* 'opened' -> *hohoen-da* 'smiled' -> *mitsume-ta* 'stared'. The use of simple past tense is consistent in the story world opened up by *sono* in (3) (Fauconnier 1997:74-5). Notice that the order of acts cannot be altered. Clearly the association between *so*-terms and the *story-now* time requires the use of consistent linguistic marker, that is, simple past tense that is generally considered as unmarked tense in narrative. In addition, past tensed verbs of action need to be presented as they occur in the story. Conversely,

these characteristics characterize the protagonist when the narrator and the protagonist share the same identity in the story.

5.3. THE SHIFT FROM THE *STORY-NOW* TIME TO THE *STORY-PAST* TIME

After experiencing the event in a temporal order, the readers are once again taken back to the *story-past* time by *ano* in (5):

(5) *Ano yoru-no hikui ame-no oto shizumu yami-no kosa. Hai-tta totanni*
that (distal) night-Gen low rain-Gen sound sink darkness-Gen enter-past as soon as

tozasa-re-ta doa-no naka-no shizukana kuukan
close-pass-past door-Gen inside-Gen quiet space

'The low sound of raindrops and the depth of the darkness of that night. The quiet space after the door was closed' (Yoshimoto 1992:19).

While the transition from the *story-past* to the *story-now* time is made gradual, the shift from the *story-now* to the *story-past* time is more abrupt. When *ano* is placed sentence-initially, the effect is more obvious. The sentence initial position is reserved as a marker of a new topic and/or a new spatio-temporal frame (Zubin and Hewitt 1995:145). By placing *ano* in the sentence-initial position, the narrator brings the readers' focus to her time frame, the *story-past* time. Again, fragmented noun phrases in (5) summarize the event rather than experiencing the event as it occurs. Characteristically, giving a summary is only possible for the narrator, not for the protagonist. *Ano* not only shifts the WHEN but also the WHO. Thus, the shifts between *a*-terms and *so*-terms shift the temporal deixis and focalization in narrative. Obviously this strong association is well established both in the narrator's and the readers' mind.

5.4. THE ESTABLISHED ASSOCIATION

Now we can summarize the functions of *so*-terms and *a*-terms in the story. When both *so*-term and *a*-term refer to the same event, their function is not only to open up a particular time frame, but also to evoke a particular perspective. The following figure schematically represents the relation among the narrator, the protagonist, and the event:

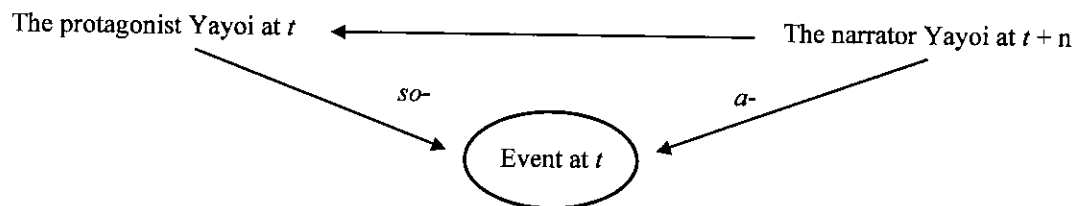


Figure 2. The relation among the narrator, the protagonist, and the event.

Notice that the narrator Yayoi has access to both the protagonist Yayoi and the event, but that the protagonist Yayoi can only access the event. The *so*-terms evoke the protagonist's perspective, while the *a*-terms evoke the narrator's perspective. The narrator has her own consciousness as the speaker of the story and comprehends the protagonist's consciousness as well, but the protagonist is never aware of the narrator's consciousness. It is like a situation where an observer is peeking through a magic mirror to view an experiencer acting out in confinement.

Fleischman (1990:222) states that a split of the first person (in this story, Yayoi) into the narrator and the protagonist particularly depends on tense-aspect categories. As discussed above, two Japanese demonstratives, *so*- and *a*- have dynamics to connect a temporal distance with focalization. Along with tense-aspect categories, this story depends on the use of deictic expressions to identify the referent of first person, Yayoi.

The events described from (1) to (5) are all identical. Though different in the temporal aspect and focalization, they all describe the same event: Yayoi's visit to her aunt's house. From a contextual point of view, the frequent shifts between *so-* and *a-* reflect how quickly the narrator travels between the present and the past in the story. The *so-* / *a-* shifts also allow the readers to look at a single event from two different perspectives.

The theme of the story is the protagonist Yayoi's journey to search for her hidden past by crisscrossing her present. The quick shifts between *so-* and *a-* metaphorically describe Yayoi's journey as if they symbolized the journey. A simple event becomes complex when some elaborate treatment is done. Yayoi's visit to her aunt gains a certain depth and significance when it is viewed from two perspectives. At the same time, this visit and the ways it is treated suggest that Yayoi's travel through time is an underlying element in the story.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have focused on the use of Japanese demonstratives, in particular, *so-* and *a-* terms in *Kanashii Yokan*. The association between the deictic expressions and the time frames creates the depth of narrative event, and it is also a key for the readers of *Kanashii Yokan* to travel through a tapestry of intricate time shifts as Yayoi does. Each time a shift between *so-* and *a-* takes place, the WHEN is shifted. This shift also activates different perspectives.

In the story, *so-/a-* shifts are effectively used to induce the sense of a journey in the readers, which is the major theme of the story. Obviously all these things discussed above are possible if the association between demonstratives and other elements is well established in the narrator's and the readers' mind. As the functional characteristics of demonstratives show, Japanese speakers store the deixis vs. spatio-temporal aspect association as part of a narrative schema. Still, the narrator cautiously ensures such a schema by presenting other functional or textual characteristics of the narrator and the protagonist. While summarizing an event is possible only for the narrator, the protagonist is trapped inside the story world only to experience the event as it occurs. Consistently, *a-* terms are used only for the former, and *so-* terms for the latter. This consistency is concordant with the readers' narrative schema and is kept throughout the story.

Intricacy of narrative is not brought out simply by the plot of a story, but also made possible by manipulating the reader's narrative schema and/or expectations. In this story, seemingly simple deictic expressions such as demonstratives are used to manipulate the reader's focus, creating the sense of traveling back and forth between the past and the present. When we learn what a single word can do to narrative, we appreciate narrative more and begin to see it from a different perspective.

NOTES

1. '*Te-ita*' is a past tense form of '*te-iru* construction.' '*Te-iru* construction' has two interpretations: progressive or perfective (or resultative). In general, when *te-iru* is attached to activity verbs, it has a progressive interpretation. When it is attached to achievement verbs, it is understood as perfective (Tsujimura 1996:314-23).
2. Nom: Nominative
Acc: Accusative
Gen: Genitive
Dat: Dative
Top: Topic marker
NM: Nominalizer
Pot: Potential
Pass: Passive
Com: Complementizer

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SEGMENTAL EFFECTS OF PROSODIC PHRASING IN ENGLISH: VOICE ONSET TIME

Sarka Simackova, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

Prosodic organization of an utterance has an impact on articulatory and acoustic parameters of the individual sounds. A prosodically prominent position, such as the onset of a prosodic unit, may be marked by a strengthened articulation. Data from twenty-six speakers of American English support the idea that Voice Onset Time of voiceless stops is a possible acoustic correlate of such strengthening in English. Segments *t* and *k* that are initial in an intonational phrase have a longer VOT than those that are phrase-medial.

1. ASPIRATION OF VOICELESS STOPS

Is it a commonly observed fact in English phonology that English voiceless stops *p*, *t*, and *k* are sometimes pronounced with aspiration, or a “puff of air” as it is described in introductory linguistic textbooks, and other times they are pronounced as plain unaspirated. Compare, for example, *p* in *pain* and *champagne* with *p* in *Spain* and *happy*, or *k* in *cool* and *recall* with *k* in *school*, and *rocket*. The auditory effect of aspiration is commonly correlated with a delayed start of periodic vibration of vocal folds relative to the moment of the release of the stop closure. This time lag is called Voice Onset Time (VOT) and it is measured from the acoustic signal. In this paper VOT is also used as a measure of aspiration. Figure 1 shows a waveform diagram of the word *pocket* pronounced by a native speaker of English.

This study tests the hypothesis that aspiration of voiceless stops is sensitive to the position of the stop segments in an utterance. It is predicted that stops /*t*/ and /*k*/ occurring at the beginning of larger prosodic units are more strongly articulated and thus have longer VOT.

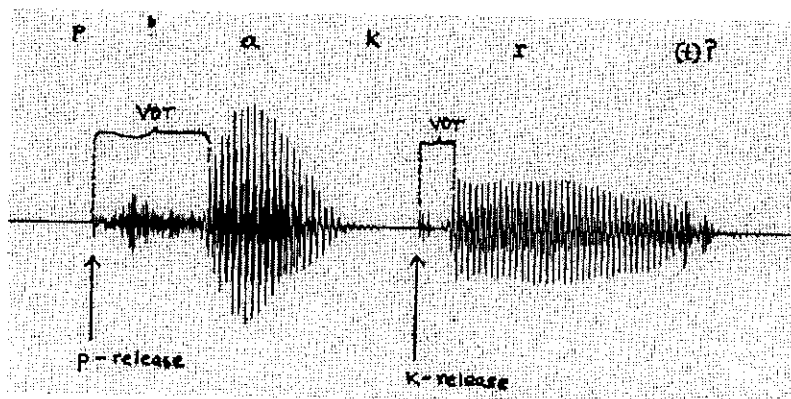


Figure 1. VOT of *p* and *k* in the word *pocket* pronounced by a native speaker of English.

2. ACCOUNTS OF ASPIRATION

Distribution of aspirated [ph, th, kh] and unaspirated [p, t, k] can be described as follows:
A voiceless stop preceded by another consonant in the same word:

A voiceless stop is never aspirated when it follows a consonant with which it forms an onset or coda cluster. For example, /*p*, *t*, *k*/ are never aspirated when preceded by an /*s*/, e.g. in *spill*, *still*, *skill*; *Aspen*, *Boston*, *biscuit*. Neither are they aspirated in words like *after*, *milky*, or *captive*.

A voiceless stop is likely to be aspirated when it follows a consonant with which it does not form a cluster in English, e.g. in *bodkin*, *napkin*.

A voiceless stop that is not preceded by another consonant in the same word:

A voiceless stop is aspirated when a stressed vowel follows, e.g. in *pair*, *repair*; *tail*, *detail*; *call*, *recall*.

A voiceless stop is aspirated when it occurs in a word-initial position even if an unstressed vowel follows, e.g. in *polite*, *tomato*, *collide*.

A voiceless stop may be sometimes aspirated when it occurs between two unstressed vowels, e.g. in *visited*, *America*.

A voiceless stop is not aspirated when it occurs between a stressed and an unstressed vowel, e.g. in *happy*, *rocket*.

The statements above reflect the commonly held assumption that aspiration should be described as a positional variation between aspirated and plain allophones of voiceless stop phonemes. In derivational phonology it is assumed that distribution of aspirated allophones is determined by a categorical phonological process which substitutes allophones [ph, th, kh] for phonemes /p, t, k/ in the appropriate environments.¹ The various formalizations of the aspiration process that have been proposed can be divided into two categories: those that refer to a syllable (e.g. Stampe 1972, Kahn 1976, Selkirk 1978) and those that refer to a foot (Kiparsky 1979, Nespor and Vogel 1986, Hammond 1997). Generalizing over differences among individual accounts, the main point of the syllable-based formulations is that voiceless stops are aspirated if they occur in the syllable onset. According to the foot-based formulations, it is the foot-initial stops that get aspirated.

It should be understood that in both types of accounts, prosody is implicated in aspiration as a conditioning factor. It affects the process in two ways. First, both syllable and foot are prosodic units. Whether it is the left edge of a syllable or the left edge of a foot that is important for applying aspiration, the fact remains that the process is conditioned by the presence of a prosodic boundary. Second, both syllable-based and foot-based accounts of aspiration indirectly involve stress. In the syllable-based models, stress determines syllabification of word-medial *p*, *t*, and *k*. Intervocalic medial stops that occur before a stressed vowel are syllabified to the right, i.e. into the onset of the stressed syllable and consequently aspirated (*vol.cano* [kh], *re.pair* [ph]). Intervocalic medial stops that occur before an unstressed vowel are syllabified to the left, especially if the preceding vowel is stressed. They are thus syllable-final and cannot undergo aspiration (*pack.age* [k], *happ.y* [p]). In the foot-based models, the beginning and end of the foot are defined in terms of stress, the foot being "a metrical entity consisting of a stressed syllable followed by any number of unstressed syllables, which are dominated by a single metrical node" (Kiparsky 1979). In short, stress has an influence on the aspiration process to the extent that it determines syllable affiliation of a stop or its position in a foot.

More recently, different explanations of aspiration have been attempted. These phonetically oriented proposals question the basic assumption underpinning all phonological analyses of aspiration that distribution of aspirated variants is controlled by a categorical rule. It is argued that aspiration is a gradient rather than a categorical phenomenon. An alternative approach is offered, which is to study aspiration as directly affected by prosodic circumstances in an utterance, namely stress and boundaries of prosodic constituents. Prosody is involved not only as a condition on application of the phonological process but it has an immediate impact on aspiration itself (and hence on its acoustic correlate VOT). Direct influence of stress on various articulatory and acoustic correlates of aspiration was documented by Cooper (1991). Cooper constructed his experiment in such a way that syllabification of a word-medial *p*, *t*, *k* was held constant for stressed and unstressed syllables.² In this way he was able to show that aspiration changes as the level of stress changes. Direct effect of prosodic boundaries is often assumed in English but the assumption has not been subjected to much experimental testing.³ The rest of the paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I discuss how prosodic boundaries can affect articulatory and acoustic parameters of segments. In section 3, I describe an experiment that puts the effect of prosodic boundaries on aspiration to test.

3. IMPACT OF PROSODY ON SEGMENTS

The nature of interaction between the segmental and prosodic levels of speech is formalized in the Prosodic Hierarchy Theory. This theory views prosody as a mechanism for organizing segmental content of utterances (Selkirk 1978, 1984, 1986, Nespor and Vogel 1986, Beckman and Edwards 1994). The main points of the theory relevant to this paper can be summarized in a following way:

Speakers do not produce their utterances as a monotonous flow of sounds. Rather, they group the segmental material into chunks of various sizes referred to as prosodic constituents: syllables, feet, prosodic words (PW), phonological phrases (PP), intonational phrases (IP), and utterances.⁴ Prosodic constituents are hierarchically organized, larger domains are (exhaustively) parsed into smaller constituents, as in Figure 2.⁵

(c) Prosodic constituents have well-defined boundaries and they are internally structured, each having a prominent head.

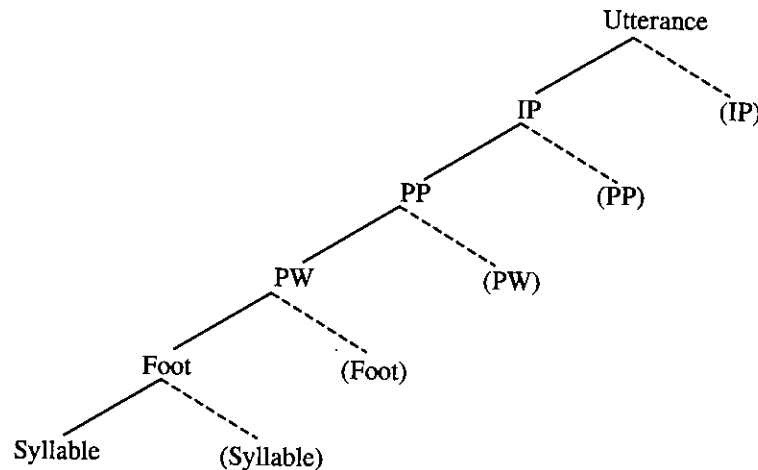


Figure 2. Prosodic Hierarchy.

Listeners can automatically segment out the prosodic chunks from a speech stream as they are provided with multiple acoustic cues to the prominent head and to the edges of a constituent. Cues signaling constituent edges include pauses, changes in duration, rhythm, and intonation. Further, there is a phonetic evidence that prosodic boundaries are also marked on the level of individual sounds. This phenomenon is described in phonetic literature as “articulatory strengthening”. Instances of articulatory strengthening are discussed, for example, in Pierrehumbert and Talkin (1992), Pierrehumbert (1995), Gordon (1997), and Fougeron and Keating (1996, 1997). The idea is that segments are articulated more forcefully and clearly when they occur at the edges of prosodic constituents. For some aspects of articulation this effect has been shown to be cumulative: boundaries of larger constituents induce greater articulatory strengthening. The cumulativeness is illustrated by adding brackets to the Figure 2 (reproduced as Figure 3 below). Progressive accumulation of articulatory strength does not mean, though, that every articulatory parameter always differentiates all prosodic levels. For example, Fougeron and Keating measured linguo-palatal contact for consonants in different prosodic positions and found that only three of the four tested prosodic levels were distinguished by the measure.

It has been suggested that aspiration of voiceless stops, standardly measured as VOT, is an acoustic correlate of articulatory strengthening in English. Cooper (1991) showed that word boundary has an effect on VOT. Pierrehumbert and Talkin (1992) and Fougeron and Keating (1996) included VOT measurements in their respective studies and showed effects of higher prosodic structures on VOT. Apart from these three exploratory works, there has been no work done on the interaction between prosodic domains and VOT.

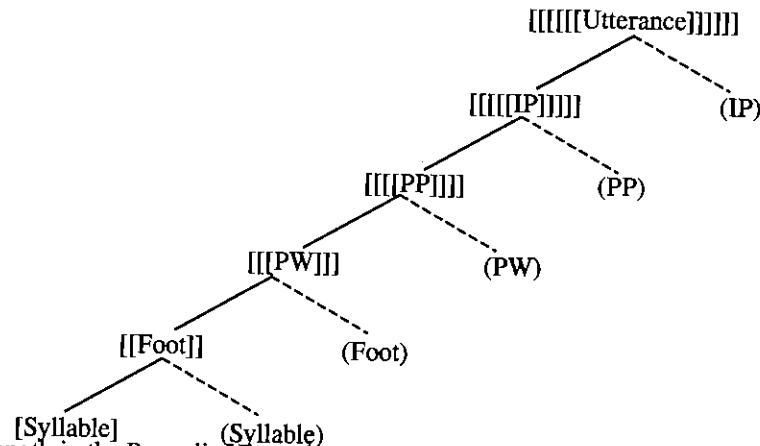


Figure 3. Boundary strength in the Prosodic Hierarchy.

4. EXPERIMENT.

This experiment was designed to test whether the prosodic structure of an utterance has a direct effect on VOT of English voiceless stops. Its main purpose was to test whether boundaries of prosodic constituents above the level of foot can induce increases in VOT. Two research questions were formulated: (1) Does VOT of voiceless stops *t* and *k* vary depending on whether they occur at the edge of a prosodic constituent or within it? (2) Is accumulation of boundary strength reflected in longer VOT of stops at boundaries of larger constituents as opposed to smaller constituents?

4.1. DESIGN.

4.1.1. CORPUS OF DATA.

The experiment was designed to compare three levels of prosodic structure: Prosodic Word (henceforth Word), Intonational Phrase (IPhrase), and Utterance. Two target words were selected, *towels* and *cups*. Position of these words in the stimulus sentences was manipulated so that each target phoneme occurred in three positions:

- position 1: inside an IPhrase (*t* and *k* are Word-initial, IPhrase-medial, Utterance-medial),
- position 2: at the beginning of an IPhrase placed within an Utterance (*t* and *k* are Word-initial, IPhrase-initial, Utterance-medial),
- position 3: at the beginning of an IPhrase placed at the absolute beginning of an Utterance (*t* and *k* are Word-initial, IPhrase-initial, Utterance-initial).

Six stimulus sentences were devised. Each sentence took the form of a list containing three items. The list format was chosen because it forces the speaker to break the utterances into expected IPhrases and thus to produce the desired prosodic structure. Every stimulus list was elicited twice. As a result six *k*-tokens and six *t*-tokens were collected per subject, 180 of each per group. Analysis could be performed only on 156 *t*-tokens and on 156 *k*-tokens.

Stimulus list:

U[IP[W[Cups]], towels for drying dishes, and spoons.
Towels for drying dishes, IP[W[cups]], and a kettle.
Plastic W[cups], soda water, and paper towels.

U[IP[W[Towels]], cups and saucers, and a big teapot.
Cups and saucers, IP[W[towels]], and knives and forks.
Paper W[towels], soda water, and plastic cups.

4.1.2. SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURES.

Thirty native speakers of American English participated in the experiment; all were undergraduate or graduate students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. None of the subjects was born and raised in Hawai'i or spoke the local variety of English. Data from four subjects had to be excluded from the sample due to malfunctioning of the recording equipment.

The subjects were presented with a fictional scenario: "Imagine we are organizing a party and we are planning who is going to bring what for the party. You have already written down a list of things that will be needed. I will be asking you questions about the list and you will read the answers from the card in front of you". The exchange between the interviewer and the subject proceeded in the following manner:

Interviewer: What are we going to need for the party?
 Subject, reads from a card: Towels for drying dishes, cups, and a kettle.
 Interviewer: Sorry, what did you say?
 Subject: Towels for drying dishes, cups, and a kettle.
 Interviewer: What shall we ask Jim to bring?
 Subjects: Paper towels, soda water, and plastic cups.
 Interviewer: I beg your pardon?
 ...

The interviews were recorded in a sound-treated room and the data were digitized in Kay Elemetrics CSL format. The measurements of VOT were taken from the sound wave.

4.2 RESULTS

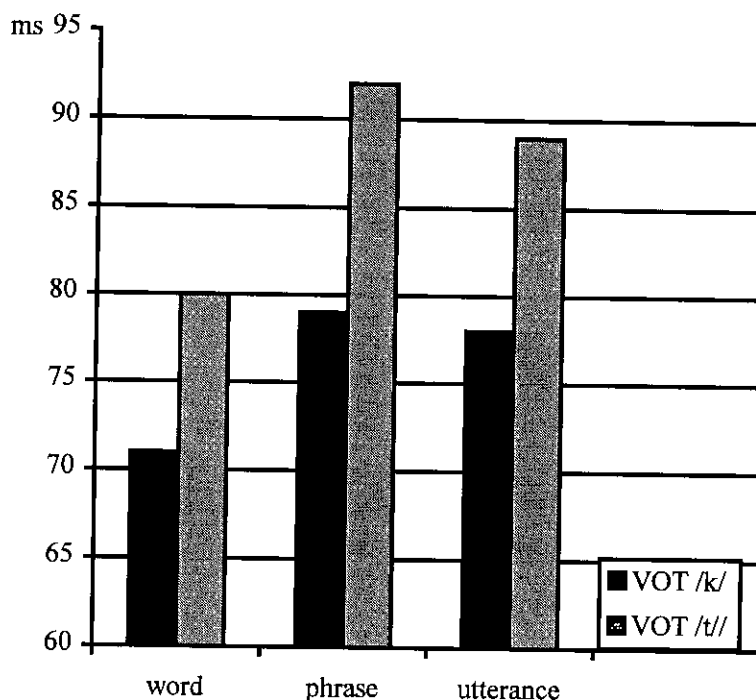
Graph 1 compares mean VOT values in each prosodic category. It is rather unexpected to see that VOT of *t* is longer than that of *k*. This might be related to the overall difference in the duration of the two test words, *cups* and *towels*.

The raw data show predicted differences in VOT only for Word and IPhrase. The difference between IPhrase and Utterance is small and it goes in the opposite direction from the expectation based on the notion of articulatory strengthening.

The first research question asked if VOT of voiceless stops *t* and *k* varies depending on whether the sounds occur at the edge of a prosodic constituent or within it. In order to answer this question two comparisons were made using paired samples T-test ($\alpha = 0.01$). First, utterance-initial VOT values were compared to VOT values of stops that were utterance-medial. For this purpose VOT values of stops that occurred at the beginning of the utterance-internal IPhrase (position 2) and at the level of word (position 1) were combined. Second, IPhrase-initial VOT was compared to IPhrase-medial VOT. For this purpose VOT values of stops in the two IPhrase-initial (positions 2 and 3) were combined. The difference between Utterance-initial and Utterance-medial VOT was not significant for either stop. Difference between IPhrase-initial and IPhrase-medial stop was found significant for both *t* and *k*.

The second research question asked whether accumulation of boundary strength was reflected in longer VOT of stops at boundaries of larger constituents as opposed to smaller constituents. VOT values of *t* and *k* in the three prosodic conditions were submitted to One-way ANOVA analysis. The result failed to reach significance for both stops.

Graph 1. VOT in ms of *t* (striped bars) and *k* (filled bars): comparison across prosodic domains



4.3 SUMMARY

The fact that VOT in word-initial stops was found to be shorter than VOT of stops initial in Intonational Phrase indicates that this strength of the prosodic boundary does have some effect on VOT of voiceless stops. This result, based on twenty-six samples, replicated a result previously reported by Fougerson and Keating (1996) for three speakers. The lack of difference in VOT between IPhrase and Utterance is also in line with Fougerson and Keating's study.

At least two interpretations of the failure of VOT to distinguish between Intonational Phrase and Utterance can be offered. Utterance may not be a legitimate domain in the Prosodic Hierarchy. While Intonational Phrase and Phonological Word are widely accepted across different versions of the Prosodic Hierarchy Theory, there is no consensus about the status of Utterance. Alternatively, the fact that the left edge of the prosodic constituent above Intonational Phrase is not strengthened when it coincides with the absolute onset of speech can have a functional explanation. From the point of view of auditory processing and speech segmentation, cues to prosodic grouping are more important within the speech stream than at its complete beginning.⁶

The current data are not informative about the issue of cumulativeness since one of the three prosodic levels did not produce strengthening.

The experiment supported the idea of VOT being an acoustic correlate of articulatory strengthening in English. In particular it suggested that VOT of IPhrase-initial and Word-initial *t* and *k* differ. What needs to be further determined is whether VOT can differentiate intermediate prosodic levels. It should also be tested whether Utterance boundaries induce VOT increases when utterances are taken from within the speech stream.

NOTES

1. There is some debate as to whether the alternation results from an aspiration process or from deaspiration process. Some phonologists assume the aspirated stops to be in the underlying phonological representation. The surface alternation between aspirated and unaspirated variants is then explained as a result of a deaspiration in weak positions.
2. Cooper used nonsense words like *piptip*. The medial /p/ in *piptip* is always syllable-initial irrespective of the stress specification of the following vowel. Syllabification to the left is prevented by the presence of the consonant /t/, /tp/ being an impossible cluster in English.
3. The effect of prosodic boundaries on VOT has been demonstrated for Korean by Jun (1996). For English, Cooper (1991) argued for a boundary effect at the level of Phonological Word.
4. There is some disagreement as to how many levels in the Prosodic Hierarchy should be proposed. Figure 2 is based on Selkirk (1978). A similar, often cited model is that of Nespor and Vogel (1986). Their model includes another layer between the Prosodic Word and the Phonological Phrase—the Clitic Group. See Shattuck-Huffnagel and Turk (1996) for a comparative review of alternative proposals.
5. Strict Layering Hypothesis (Selkirk 1984, Nespor and Vogel 1986). For a review of exceptions to Strict Layering see Shattuck-Huffnagel and Turk (1996).
6. The reviewer of this paper offered another possible interpretation. It could be the case that VOT is not sensitive to higher prosodic boundaries per se. Instead, it may be sensitive to another factor, such as pitch or stress.

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A COMPARISON OF INPUT ENHANCEMENT AND EXPLICIT INSTRUCTION OF MITIGATORS

Yoshinori J. Fukuya & Martyn K. Clark, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

As the instructional shortcomings of Focus on FormS and Focus on Meaning have surfaced, Focus on Form (i.e., drawing brief attention to linguistic forms while learners engage primarily in meaning) has slowly but steadily gained the attention of researchers and teachers. The research question underlying this study was whether Focus on Form could be applied to the teaching of second language pragmatics. This study compared two instructional paradigms: Focus on FormS and Focus on Form. Provoked by the proposition that even advanced second language (L2) learners cannot fully utilize pragmatic knowledge (e.g., mitigators), the researchers attempted to raise learners' consciousness about mitigators. Two questions were asked. First, to what extent does input enhancement (Focus on Form) improve learners' ability to recognize the appropriate use of mitigators? Second, does it improve their recognition ability as well as explicit instruction (Focus on FormS) does?

In this study, each of three randomly assigned groups (Focus on Form, Focus on FormS and Control) of adult ESL students took two types of posttests: listening comprehension and pragmatic recognition. The researchers created two versions of a videotaped drama in which the characters performed mitigated requests. The Focus on Form group watched the version that contained typographical enhancement of mitigators in captions, whereas the Focus on FormS group watched the version that gave the participants explicit instruction on mitigators. The Control Group watched a different videotape that did not show any requests. The participants' task in each group was to comprehend the content of the drama. Although the statistical results were inconclusive, this empirical study itself provides considerable insight into the operationalization of Focus on Form for purposes of interlanguage pragmatics pedagogy.

INTRODUCTION

Three Paradigms in Second Language Instruction

The pendulum of second language instruction has swung between forms and meaning. As Long and Robinson (1998) claim, three options are available to language teachers: The first, Focus on FormS (Long, 1991), is a "synthetic" approach (Wilkins, 1976) in which teachers present linguistic items in a linear and additive fashion and the learners' task is to synthesize them. For instance, Focus on FormS encompasses synthetic syllabi (e.g., structural, situational, notional-functional), synthetic methods (e.g., Total Physical Response, Silent Way) and such classroom activities as display questions and transformation exercises. On the other hand, the advocates of the second approach, Focus on Meaning, claim that learners learn languages best when they experience them as a means of communication and that incidental (i.e., without intention, while doing something else) and implicit (i.e., without awareness) learning is sufficient for adults' successful second language acquisition. Focus on Meaning includes immersion programs, the Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983) and Prahbu's (1987) procedural syllabus. While these two paradigms have enjoyed their theoretical and pedagogical popularity, there is general consensus in the second language acquisition literature that neither instruction that focuses solely on linguistic forms (e.g., traditional grammar teaching) nor instruction that concentrates solely on communicative meaning while ignoring forms (e.g., immersion programs such as those reported in Swain & Lapkin, 1982) are effective or efficient in developing a high level of linguistic competence. (For a more complete overview, see Long, 1998; Long & Robinson, 1998.) As the shortcomings of Focus on FormS and Focus on Meaning have surfaced, the third approach, Focus on Form (Long, 1991), has slowly but steadily gained the attention of researchers and teachers as an alternative to both of the preceding approaches. Conceptually, Focus on Form involves "an occasional shift in attention to linguistic code features – by the teacher and/or one or more students – triggered by perceived problems with comprehension or production" (Long & Robinson, 1998, p. 23). In other words, it is characterized as learners' engagement in meaning with brief interventions and brief explicit instruction on linguistic codes as needed (Doughty & Williams, 1998a).

Several techniques have been associated with Focus on Form, varying from relatively unobtrusive and reactive, to more obtrusive and proactive (Doughty & Williams, 1998b). Towards the end of a continuum of Focus on Form in terms of degree of explicitness are input flood (Trahey, 1996; Trahey & White, 1993) and task-essential language (Loschky & Bley-Vroman, 1993; e.g., match-the-picture task). Somewhere between on the continuum are recasts (Mackey & Philp, 1998), interaction enhancement (Muranoi, 1996) and dictogloss (Wajnryb, 1990). At the other end of the continuum are consciousness-raising tasks (Fotos, 1993, 1994), input processing instruction (VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993a, 1993b) and the Garden Path technique (Tomasello & Herron, 1988, 1989).¹

Although the basic tenets of Focus on Form are relatively unproblematic, researchers differ in their interpretation of the extent to which linguistic forms should be emphasized, and also as to the timing of that

emphasis (Doughty & Williams, 1998a). Two researchers (Long, 1991, 1996, 1998; Long & Robinson, 1998) emphasize the need for Focus on Form to be radically "learner-centered," in the sense that it must always be in reaction to a learners' comprehension or production problem, which is "pervasive, systematic and remediable" (Long & Robinson, 1998, p. 25) in the classroom. In addition, this position asserts that the linguistic item in question must be "learnable" (as claimed in the Multidimensional Model and the Processability Theory) by the learner in terms of the learners' internal psycholinguistic readiness (Pienemann, 1984, 1989; Meisel, Clahsen & Pienemann, 1981). On the other hand, other researchers (Swain, 1998; DeKeyser, 1998) support proactive, explicit and pre-planned techniques in the classroom.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

The purpose of this study was to compare the efficacy of two teaching paradigms, that is, Focus on Forms and Focus on Form. This study is, thus, conceptually situated at the crossroads between Focus on Form and interlanguage pragmatics. Focus on Form is theoretically motivated by the interaction hypothesis (Long, 1981, 1983, 1996) and the "noticing" hypothesis (Schmidt, 1990, 1993a, 1993b, 1995). That is, teachers and researchers in this framework concern themselves with both negotiation for meaning and the allocation of learners' focal attention. While studies on Focus on Form have revolved around the morphosyntactical domain, some interlanguage pragmatists have attempted to teach pragmatic knowledge within the framework of Focus on Forms, such as complimenting and replying to compliments (Billmyer, 1990); apologies (Olshtain & Cohen, 1990); conversational implicature (Kubota, 1995); downgraders (Fukuya, 1998); and speech acts, registers, and the use of *tu* and *vous* (Lyster, 1994). Other researchers have compared different pedagogical approaches to teach pragmatic knowledge (Fukuya, Reeve, Gisi & Christianson, 1998; House, 1996; Pearson, 1998; Tateyama, Kasper, Mui, Tay & Thananart, 1997; Wilder-Bassett, 1984). For a comprehensive review, see Kasper (1997, 1999). Being aware of the increasingly accumulated knowledge in these areas, some researchers (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1997; Doughty & Williams, 1998b) suggest that the principles and efficacy of Focus on Form might be applied to discourse and pragmatic levels. Provoked by this suggestion, this study takes a psycholinguistic approach (i.e., the use of input enhancement) to pragmalinguistics (i.e., focus on mitigators in requests) to join Focus on Form and interlanguage pragmatics. The following section, therefore, briefly reviews studies on both input enhancement and mitigators.

RELATED LITERATURE

Input Enhancement

In this study, Focus on Form was operationalized to use input enhancement (Sharwood-Smith, 1993), a technique in which part of the linguistic input is intonationally or typographically enhanced so that learners can better notice target forms. Some examples of input enhancement are highlighting, color-coding and font manipulation (Doughty & Williams, 1998b).

Studies by White (1998), Alanen (1995), Jourdenais, Ota, Stauffer, Boyson and Doughty (1995) and Leeman, Arteagoitia, Fridman and Doughty (1995) focused on morphology. Doughty's (1991) focus was on syntax (relative clauses); Paribakht and Wesche (1997) targeted vocabulary, such as nouns, verbs and discourse connectives. The results of these studies have indicated that input enhancement is effective, at least temporarily (i.e., demonstrated in posttests) for morphosyntactical and lexical L2 learning. It thus appears possible for L2 learners to improve their linguistic ability while still focusing primarily on meaning.

Mitigators are pragmalinguistic items that soften the impositional force of a request by means of lexical and phrasal modification (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989). These items can be either internal to the head act of the request or external to it.

Færch and Kasper (1989), Ellis (1992), Hill (1997), Nonaka (1998) and Rose (1998) investigated L2 learners' use of mitigators in requests, whereas Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990, 1993) examined L2 learners' use of mitigators in suggestions. The results of these six studies have suggested that more advanced L2 learners use more mitigators, but that even advanced L2 learners do not use mitigators as often as native speakers do. None of these studies examined the teachability of mitigators. This study, on the other hand, involved both implicit and explicit teaching of mitigators.

THIS STUDY

The Foci of the Study

For this study, four types of mitigators in requests were chosen as the target pragmatic items as summarized in Figure 1: Downtoner; subjective opinion; the combination of past tense, aspect and conditional clause; and disarmer. These four types of mitigators included six specific pragmalinguistic expressions (*perhaps*; *possibly*; *I'd be grateful if ...*; *I'd appreciate it if ...*; *I was wondering if ...*; *I know..., but...*). Figure 1 also shows the frequencies of these mitigators used in 30 scenarios in the instructional videotape used in the experimental treatment for the study. Forty-one mitigators were used in 30 scenarios because 11 disarmers (*I know..., but...*) were used with other mitigators.

Figure 1: Six Types of Mitigators Used in the Study and their Frequencies in 30 Videotaped Scenarios

Mitigator	Type	Example	Frequency
<i>perhaps</i>	Downtoner	Can I <i>perhaps</i> borrow your notes?	5
<i>possibly</i>	Downtoner	Can you <i>possibly</i> let me borrow your notes?	6
<i>I'd be grateful if ...</i>	Subjective opinion	<i>I'd be grateful if</i> you lend me your notebook.	5
<i>I'd appreciate it if...</i>	Subjective opinion	<i>I'd appreciate it if</i> you let me use your car for a few hours.	4
<i>I was wondering if ...</i>	The combination of past tense, aspect and conditional clause	<i>I was wondering if</i> I could audit the class.	10
<i>I know..., but...</i>	Disarmer	<i>I know</i> you don't like lending out your notes, <i>but</i> could you make an exception this time?	11

Adopted from Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper (1989), Hill (1997), Trosborg (1995), and Van Mulken (1996)

Downtoners, the combination of past tense, aspect and conditional clause, and disarmer were chosen for this study because the participants in the current study were likely to be ready to learn these mitigators, as demonstrated in Fukuya (1998). Fukuya investigated which categories of downgraders (i.e., internally modified lexical-phrasal downgraders, internally modified syntactic downgraders, or externally modified downgraders) were more learnable and, therefore, more teachable in requests. In Fukuya's study, 17 students (TOEFL scores ranged from 430 to 512) at a language school at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa received six one-hour periods of explicit instruction on downgraders over a period of five weeks. Although the study had its limitations because of its one-group, pretest-posttest design, the results of role-plays and a Discourse Completion Test indicated that downtoners, aspects and disarmers were easier for the students to learn than any other downgraders.

For the current study, aspect (*I am wondering if ...*) in Fukuya's study was simply replaced with the combination of past tense, aspect and conditional clause (*I was wondering if ...*). Furthermore, subjective opinion was added to the study for a practical reason. Considering the videotape segments in which money-seeking people requested money, subjective opinion (*I'd be grateful if ...*; *I'd appreciate it if ...*) seemed intuitively appropriate for these contexts.

Research Questions

The study addressed three research questions:

- (1) To what extent does explicit instruction (Focus on FormS) affect learners' ability to recognize appropriate use of mitigators?
- (2) To what extent does input enhancement (Focus on Form) affect learners' ability to recognize appropriate use of mitigators?
- (3) Which is more effective for improving learners' ability to recognize appropriate use of mitigators: Focus on FormS or Focus on Form?

Participants

The participants in this study were 34 students currently enrolled at three language schools at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. The data for 32 students (18 females and 14 males; 23 Japanese, 4 Chinese, 2 Koreans, 2 Taiwanese and 1 Iranian) were analyzed. Among them, 17 students self-reported their TOEFL scores, which ranged from 410 to 600.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The research utilized a posttest only, control group design. This design was chosen to avoid pretest effects. In studies to investigate implicit learning, the use of a pretest can inadvertently heighten learners awareness of target linguistic forms. The participants were randomly assigned to one of the following three groups:

- (1) Focus on FormS (10 students): An experimental group receiving explicit instruction
- (2) Focus on Form (11 students): An experimental group receiving input enhancement
- (3) A control group (11 students)

Figure 2 gives an overview of the research design. In this figure, + means the presence of a treatment, whereas - means the absence of a treatment. For instance, +input enhancement means that Video A 2 had input enhancement while -input enhancement means that Video A 1 did not have input enhancement.

Figure 2: Overview of Research Design

Condition			
	Focus on FormS (10 students)	Focus on Form (11 students)	Control (11 students)
Treatment	Video A 1 (Focus on FormS version; total running time 48 minutes) +explicit instruction on mitigators (6 minutes) -input enhancement (42 minutes)	Video A 2 (Focus on Form version; total running time 48 minutes) -explicit instruction on mitigators +explicit instruction on listening strategies (6 minutes) +input enhancement (42 minutes)	Video B (total running time 50 minutes) This video did not contain any requests.
Measures	Comprehension Questions (A)	Comprehension Questions (A)	Comprehension Questions (B)
Listening Test Posttest	Pragmatic Multiple Choice Test	Pragmatic Multiple Choice Test	Pragmatic Multiple Choice Test

Treatment Videotape

A 48-minute video was created for this study (See Figure 3). The video consisted of 30 scenarios in which a variety of people implored a millionaire called Mr. Money to give them money on the basis of their hard luck stories.² As Figure 3 shows, the combination A (-Power, +Distance, +Imposition) of three sociolinguistic variables was incorporated into the 30 scenarios in the video. All of the interactions were requests to a person with greater power than the speaker (-Power), who was unknown (+Social Distance), for a sum of money (+Imposition).

Figure 3: Distribution of Variables in the Video and Pragmatic Test

Combination	Variables	Video (30 Scenarios)	Pragmatic Multiple Choice Test (24 Items)
A	-Power, +Distance, +Imposition	30	8
B	+Power, -Distance, -Imposition	0	8
C	-Power, -Distance, +Imposition	0	8

Power is the degree to which a speaker can impose his or her intentions on the hearer due to a social, organizational or professional rank. +Power means that the speaker has a higher rank or social position, whereas -Power means that the speaker has a lower rank or social position. Social Distance is the degree of familiarity and solidarity the speaker and the hearer share. +Social Distance means that they do not know each other while -Social Distance means that they know each other. +Imposition means a great expenditure of goods or service, whereas -Imposition means a small expenditure of goods or service (Brown & Levinson, 1978; Hudson, Detmer and Brown, 1995).

All of the actors appearing in the video were native speakers of American English. Although the scenarios for each individual segment were conceived ahead of time, the actual dialogue in the video was spontaneous. The only exception was that the last line for each money-seeker, the actual request for money, was written ahead of time to ensure inclusion of the specific mitigators chosen as the foci of the study. Appendix A shows two sample scenario prompts.

Two versions of the treatment video (total running time 48 minutes) were created (See Figure 2). The first version (+explicit instruction, -input enhancement) was used for the Focus on FormS group. In this version, the first 6-minute segment had explicit instruction on mitigators. In non-technical terms, the presenter introduced the concepts of Power, Social Distance, and Imposition (Brown & Levinson, 1978) and their effect on the choice of pragmalinguistic form and provided two examples of making requests "more appropriate" through the use of the four downgraders previously mentioned. The remaining 42-minute segment consisted of 30 scenarios, with no captioning of the requests.

A second videotape version (-explicit instruction, +input enhancement) was made for the Focus on Form group. The first 6-minute segment of this version did not have explicit instruction on mitigators. Instead, it had explicit instruction on listening comprehension strategies, which remained general. This segment was included to keep the total time consistent for both experimental groups. The remaining 42-minute segment consisted of the same 30 scenarios. However, this version included on-screen, white captions during the request for money in each of the 30 segments. Within the captions, the mitigators appearing in the request were highlighted in yellow. An example was "I was wondering if you would give me \$120 to have my tattoo removed?"

Thus, the conceptual distinctions between the Focus on FormS and the Focus on Form approaches were realized as empirical distinctions in the video in two ways: explicit instruction and input enhancement. The Focus on FormS group had explicit instruction on mitigators without input enhancement, whereas the Focus on Form group had input enhancement without explicit instruction.

In contrast to these two experimental groups, the control group (-explicit instruction, -input enhancement) watched a Control video, which was a totally unrelated documentary film, *Biography: Harry Houdini* with a total running time of 50 minutes. This video did not contain any requests.

ASSESSMENT

Listening Comprehension Tests

A set of listening comprehension questions was produced based on the contents of video A (Focus on FormS and Focus on Form versions). This test consisted of 30 multiple-choice items and was piloted with native speakers of American English to ensure that the questions were unambiguous. The test was the same for both experimental groups, and the prompts and answer choices were delivered within the video itself. Appendix B shows two sample questions. Similarly, a set of 30 multiple-choice questions was also created based on the contents of the control group video (Video B). Examples are shown in Appendix C.

The purpose of the listening comprehension test for Focus on FormS and Focus on Form groups was twofold. One purpose was to verify, as the result of the random assignment of participants, the absence of significant difference between the two groups in terms of their listening comprehension ability. More importantly, as one of the vital aspects of Focus on Form is learners' engagement in meaning, the second purpose was to ensure that the participants were focused on the overall meaning of the video and not only on its pragmatic aspects. This was achieved by requiring the participants to answer comprehension questions after each of the 30 scenarios in the video.

A Pragmatic Multiple Choice Test (PMCT)

To assess students' ability to recognize pragmatically appropriate utterances, a 24-item multiple-choice test was administered. The prompt for each question was a written scenario designed to elicit a request. Following the scenario, three possible answers were provided. Of the three choices, only one was pragmatically appropriate, while the other two exhibited inappropriate levels of formality, directness or politeness. All three choices were grammatically accurate. The test items were modified scenarios from Hudson, Detmer and Brown (1995); and Fukuya, Reeve, Gisi and Christianson (1998); and Hill (1997); they were piloted on native speakers of American English. Appendix D shows two sample items.

Because pragmatic appropriateness is context- and interlocutor- dependent, items for each test were chosen with reference to their categorization within Brown and Levinson's (1978) framework, which describes three variables — Social Distance (D), Power (P), and degree of Imposition (I) — that act as universal constraints on linguistic action. All of the interactions in the video (Combination A in Figure 3) were requests to a person with greater power than the speaker (-Power) who was unknown (+Social Distance) for a sum of money (+Imposition). For assessment purposes, it was important to be sure that the learners were not merely overgeneralizing from the situation on the video (especially for the Focus on Form group) and were, in fact, sensitive to context and interaction. To control for possible overgeneralization, prompts for some of the multiple-choice items were chosen for the opposite "setting" of the Power, Distance and Imposition variables to include some answers which did not necessarily require the presence of downgraders to be appropriate (Combination B in Figure 3). In addition, in order to gauge learners' ability to extrapolate to new situations, a third set of items was included which involved the use of downgraders in requests, but did not mirror the exact setting of the three variables in the video (Combination C in Figure 3).

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Listening Comprehension Test

A *t*-test was conducted and the difference between the two groups (Focus on FormS and Focus on Form) was not statistically significant at $p = .143$ (Table 1). This means that there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups in terms of their general listening comprehension ability as the result of the random assignment.

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations of Listening Comprehension Test

Group	N	Mean	SD
Focus on FormS	10	12.40	3.06
Focus on Form	11	15.18	4.95

Pragmatic Multiple-Choice Test

An ANOVA for all three treatment groups (Focus on FormS, Focus on Form and Control) was conducted and the differences among the three groups were not statistically significant at $p = .362$. That is to say, there were no statistically significant differences among the three groups in terms of their pragmatic ability after the participants watched the videos (Table 2).

Table 2: ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Between Groups	27.54	2	13.77	1.05	.362
Within Groups	379.95	29	13.10		
Total	407.50	31			

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

From Perceptual Saliency to Pragmalinguistic Saliency

The "noticing" hypothesis assumes that "what learners notice in input is what becomes intake for learning" (Schmidt, 1995, p.20). On the basis of this assumption, requests, in particular mitigators, were made perceptually more salient in the present study to increase the likelihood that the participants would become aware of them. Despite this technological intervention, the results of this study suggest at least the following two possibilities: (1) typographical enhancement was not perceptually salient enough to draw the participants' attention to the mitigators; (2) although typographical enhancement was perceptually salient enough to draw the participants' attention to the mitigators, perceptual saliency was not sufficient for pragmalinguistic learning. In either case, future researchers may want to arrange *pragmalinguistic saliency* in such a way that at least the following four factors are salient to learners: (1) a pragmalinguistic form; (2) its function; (3) a situation in which such a form is required; and (4) the particular Power, Distance and Imposition values involved.

Assessment Instrument

Another issue for future researchers to keep in mind concerns the assessment instrument; the results of the present study indicate that the Pragmatic Multiple-Choice Test (PMCT) might not be sensitive enough to accurately measure participants' pragmatic ability. Although the multiple-choice format allowed for the testing of pragmatic knowledge without requiring production on the part of the participants, two drawbacks emerged. The first was the difficulty in selecting appropriate distractors, especially for scenarios designed to elicit responses that did not require the use of mitigators. During the pilot testing of the PMCT on native English speakers, it was noted that the most frequently revised items were those in which the Power, Social Distance and Imposition "settings" did not require the use of a mitigated request (such as a classroom teacher asking a student for the phone number of Tina, another student). Whereas most native English speakers chose a response such as "Excuse me, but I need to get a hold of Tina. Do you have her phone number?", some chose mitigated responses, such as "Excuse me, but do you happen to have Tina's phone number? I would appreciate it if you could tell me." Although these items were modified until agreement was reached in further piloting, it is possible that the modified distractors for some items represented extremes in acceptability rather than more subtle distinctions (i.e. "Excuse me, but do you have Tina's phone number? If you do, I was wondering if you could possibly tell me. I know this is a lot to ask, but I need to get a hold of her.").

A second drawback was that because the PMCT was absolute in terms of allowing for only one correct answer, there was no way to measure relative improvement as a result of treatment. It could have been the case, for example, that without the treatment, some participants would have chosen the least acceptable of the three answer choices. Because of the treatment, they might choose an answer that was slightly more acceptable, yet still insufficient when compared to native English speakers. Future researchers would do well to investigate ways to increase the sensitivity of the measures used.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study examined the notion that Focus on Form may be an effective pedagogical framework for teaching pragmalinguistics. Specifically, Focus on Form was operationalized to use input enhancement with four types of mitigators. This was realized through the use of captions in 30 requests in a created video. In the video, the effectiveness of this treatment was tested against that of explicit instruction on the mitigators, and the treatment of both groups was measured against that of a control group who watched a video that did not contain any requests.

Although the findings are inconclusive regarding the efficacy of Focus on Form to teach pragmalinguistics through input enhancement, one cannot dismiss the future possibility of further Focus on Form studies yielding significant results. The brevity of treatment (a 48-minute video), combined with weak statistical power (a sample size of 32) made statistically significant results unlikely in this study. Additionally, since this study used a posttest-only design to minimize test effects, it was impossible to detect any improvement as a result of the treatment, even if such improvement did occur. These inconclusive findings should therefore not be seen as evidence of the failure of Focus on Form in the realm of second language pragmatics instruction.

The reported study may be considered to be of some value in its exposure of several key issues which future researchers examining input enhancement in pragmalinguistics instruction could usefully bear in mind. These include pragmalinguistic saliency and assessment issues, in particular, the need to develop more highly sensitive means of measuring changes in pragmalinguistic competence than appear possible using a multiple-choice format.

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NOTES

- 1 Long excludes consciousness-raising tasks, input processing instruction and the Garden Path technique from the Focus on Form continuum (personal communication).
- 2 Inspiration for this concept was the weekly column, "Thanks a Million" by Percy Ross, as published in the *MidWeek* newspaper (RFD Publications, Honolulu, HI).

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APPENDICES**Appendix A: Sample Scenario Prompts**

You are an 24-year-old graduate student. Although you are very serious about your studies now, you used to be a bad student. In fact, you were the member of a gang. You are planning to get a real job next year after you graduate. Unfortunately, you still have the gang tattoo on your arm that you got when you were younger. You will start having job interviews in a few weeks, and you think that the tattoo will cause you problems. You need \$120 to have the tattoo removed.

LINE: I was wondering if you would give me \$120 to have my tattoo removed?

You are a graduate student working on a research project. You have spent several weeks doing a literature review and working on your research design. Although you think that your research will be very important to the field, you do not have enough money to give the research participants anything for helping you with your study. You would really like \$35 to pay for movie tickets for your five subjects.

LINE: Can you possibly give me some money to help with this study?

Appendix B: Sample Listening Comprehension Questions Based on Video A for the Focus on FormS and Focus on Form groups

Why does the graduate student need money?

- (a) To get a tattoo on his arm.
- (b) To buy a tattoo.
- (c) To get his tattoo taken off.
- (d) To draw a tattoo on his arm.

How will the woman spend the money?

- (a) To do a literature review.
- (b) To design her research.
- (c) To watch a movie
- (d) To compensate her participants.

Appendix C: Sample Listening Comprehension Questions Based on Video B for the Control group

Q. What does the name "Houdini" mean?

- (a) It means "great magician."
- (b) It means "like Houdin."
- (c) It means "expert illusionist."
- (d) It means "little wooden one."

Q. How did Houdini's wife pass keys to him during one of his tricks?

- (a) With her feet.
- (b) With her hair.
- (c) With her clothing.
- (d) With her mouth.

Appendix D: Sample Items from Pragmatic Multiple-Choice Test

Situation: You are meeting the loan officer at the financial aid office on campus. You have a conflict with a group project meeting so you can't go. The office has no other appointments available for the next two weeks, but you need your loan approval very urgently. You go into the office to explain your situation.

- (a) I can't make our scheduled meeting. I need an appointment for another day.
- (b) I can't make our scheduled meeting. I was wondering if it would be possible to schedule an appointment on a different day?
- (c) I might possibly have a conflict with our scheduled appointment. Can I get a different one?

Situation: You are applying for a new job in a small company and want to make an appointment for an interview. You know the manager is very busy and only schedules interviews in the afternoon from one to four o'clock. However, you currently work in the afternoon. You want to schedule an interview in the morning. You go into the office this morning to turn in your application form, and you see the manager.

- (a) Excuse me, I'm applying for the recent opening and wanted to get an appointment for an interview. I know that you normally schedule interviews in the afternoon, but I was wondering if you might make an exception for me since work in the afternoon.
- (b) I'd like to make an appointment for an interview. I know that you are very busy in the morning, but I'll come here at 10:00. O.K.?
- (c) Excuse me. I'd like to make a morning appointment for an interview.

THE USE OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH IN TEACHING STANDARD AMERICAN ENGLISH AS A SECOND DIALECT

Michelle Winn and Professor Cathy Doughty, Second Languages Studies

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses ways to approach the teaching of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) speaking students so as to both accommodate their dialect in the classroom and foster awareness of the differences between AVE and Standard American English (SE). The ultimate goal of this overview of the research is to encourage teachers to realize and convey to students the legitimacy and value of their own language while simultaneously boosting the learning of SE as a second dialect.

Different versions of parts of this paper were submitted as term papers in ESL 380: Bilingual Education to Instructor Terri Menacker in December 1998 ("Purposeful and Critical Approaches to Using African American English in the Classroom") and ESL 660: Sociolinguistics to Professor Gabriele Kasper in May 1999 ("To Respond or not to Respond: Teacher Responses to African American Vernacular English Speaking Students' Miscues During Oral Reading"). The ESL 380 paper was originally presented at the Conference of Language, Linguistics, and Literature in March 1999.

In language there are no licensed practitioners.

The notion that a "dialect" is a liability rather than an asset is an arbitrary determination.

1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the egalitarian leanings of these two linguists (Bolinger qtd. in Pinker, 1994, p. 399 and Kochman, 1972, p. 230, respectively), in reality language varieties enjoy quite different levels of prestige in societies. But who's to say someone does not speak his or her own native language well? Unfortunately, many people *do* deign to judge others' native speech as deficient. For complex social, historical, economic, and cultural reasons, the power structure often favors one dialect over another. In the United States this translates into a social construct that favors the somewhat mythical Standard American English (SE) over other Englishes, such as African-American Vernacular English (AAVE).

Although at least 24 million Americans speak AAVE (Rickford, 1998), little research has even attempted to address the needs of AAVE speaking students, and of the few studies undertaken, rarely have research findings been implemented in classrooms across the nation. As a group, African-American students consistently underachieve in school and score lower on standardized tests than their white counterparts (see Rickford, 1997a). Socioeconomic status, parents' educational attainment, student attitudes towards mainstream educational institutions, cultural bias in testing, and a home-school language mismatch all may play a role in this discrepancy. Considering that only 4.7% of new teachers today are African-American (Dandy, 1990) and that African-Americans account for approximately 12% of the United States population (according to the 1990 census cited in Lippi-Green, 1997), it can be deduced that most AAVE speaking students are taught by non-AAVE speaking teachers. Although an extensive search found no research specifically investigating the topic of misunderstandings caused by language differences between African-American students and their teachers, it is believed that AAVE speaking students experience difficulty in school in part because of educators' misunderstanding of AAVE speaking students (be it on a linguistic or pragmatic level) – coupled with prejudice against AAVE and a lack of use and/or acquisition of SE by AAVE speaking students.

Most research on AAVE – beginning with the groundbreaking research by Labov in 1970 – has focused on linguistic analysis. He described features of AAVE, such as copula deletion, simplification of word final consonant clusters, absence of third person singular "s" in present tense, and multiple negation. More than a decade after Labov's pioneering work, Hansell and Ajirotutu (1982) went beyond linguistic description to analyze discourse features in interviews between older "middle-class white interviewers" and inner-city youth. They identified the teens' use of "culturally specific contextualization cues" as essential for meaning; the interviewers missed this "wealth of information . . . that [would have enabled them to] disambiguate the speaker's intent" at key moments in the discourse – when the lines between seriousness and humor were blurred, for instance (p. 94). Gumperz (1981) also mentions a case in which use of metaphor in AAVE could easily be misunderstood by speakers of other varieties of English (p. 197). Thus, research on AAVE has revealed not only unique grammatical and phonological features but also defining prosodic and paralinguistic characteristics (see also Mufwene et al, 1998). But, despite being a distinct dialect spoken by many as a first language, use of AAVE in educational settings has been under-researched.

The success of AAVE speaking students in American schools should be a priority. Research has shown definitively that traditional education programs that fail to take into account the unique background and

linguistic capabilities of speakers of a nonstandard dialect often lead to poor self-image, low academic achievement, difficulty in acquiring literacy, and repression of self-expression (Siegel, 1998). In fact, denigration of students' nonstandard dialect can discourage use of the standard, as one study of African-American high school students' language use documented; students chose to use AAVE (rather than SE) in school to express resistance to the cultural insensitivity of school officials and teachers in their unquestioning and relentless insistence on the use of SE (Fordham, 1999).

Educators' cultural awareness and linguistic sensitivity have been shown to reverse students' negative attitudes towards school, an institution that many view as unrelated to their own experience. The benefits of formal education programs that legitimate students' home dialect have been observed in speakers of various nonstandard dialects (including AAVE) who are acquiring the standard variety (Fischer, 1992; Kephart, 1992; Siegel, 1997; Simpkins & Simpkins, 1981). Valuing students' home language in school can increase students' appreciation for their own culture and identity, boost their self-esteem, improve their attitude towards school, and facilitate the acquisition of the standard – in that students who come to value their first language will often be more successful at acquiring a second dialect (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998). Legitimization of a native dialect has been shown to increase motivation for learning the standard variety (Fischer, 1992; Kephart, 1992; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998) and has also proven successful in bridging the home-school gap in programs which specifically seek to involve parents in their children's formal education (Fischer, 1992; Kephart 1992). Teachers of AAVE speakers can seek to better meet the needs of their students by recognizing the role AAVE can play in the education of those who speak it as their first language.

However, in spite of these optimistic research findings, tremendous public outcry followed the Oakland School Board's resolution (1997) to "[respect] and [embrace] the legitimacy and richness of [AAVE speakers'] language patterns . . ." (pp. 1-2) for the purpose of fostering competence in reading, writing, speaking, and understanding SE. In light of such opposition to any mention of AAVE in relation to schooling, it is paramount to clarify the explicit goals of any educational program that values AAVE, especially in terms of the teaching and acquisition of SE. There is widespread agreement that AAVE speakers should master SE (Linguistic Society of America 1997). For example, Baugh (1981) interviewed over 200 African-American adults and all emphasized "the value of a good education" for their children, especially in relation to obtaining desirable jobs (p. 18). For many, mastery of SE and economic success in the United States go hand in hand (Delpit, 1988; Pennycook, 1997). Therefore, any program that successfully incorporates AAVE into the curriculum must also have the acquisition of SE as one of its main goals, and parents will stand for no less (Delpit, 1988; Nembhard, 1991). In an educational program which values AAVE speakers' language while teaching the standard, the goal is bidialectalism, not the replacement of AAVE with SE (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998). SE should be considered an additional dialect, an asset in terms of sociopolitical and economic power.

In 1973 Politzer asserted that teaching a second dialect should be approached differently than foreign language teaching – and presumably second language teaching, although the two endeavors share some similarities. In 1981 Baugh stated that although scholars as early as the 1940's have been offering a variety of suggestions for teaching speakers of AAVE, most of these approaches have failed. Today exploration of worthwhile approaches to using AAVE "as a vehicle for teaching standard English" (Simpkins & Simpkins, 1977) and fostering success among AAVE speaking students is urgently needed.

Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA) or the study of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) for languages with minimal distance between them has scarcely been studied – perhaps in part because of the complexity, ambiguity, and lack of instruction typically associated with such situations (Menacker, 1997). Nonetheless, some research in the fields of Applied Linguistics and Education has examined SDA in school. Siegel (1998) outlines three types of programs in which pidgins, creoles, and minority dialects can be used in the formal education system: instrumental, accommodation, and awareness. First, instrumental use means that the nonstandard variety is used as a medium of instruction – typically for the purpose of transitioning students into the standard variety. Second, accommodation can involve cultural sensitivity and acceptance of the nonstandard variety for speaking, writing, and reading and can also include listening to musical lyrics in the nonstandard variety; the goal is bidialectalism: proficiency in two dialects, usually a nonstandard variety and the standard one. Third, awareness programs present varieties of language as a topic of study with explicit instruction in the differences between the nonstandard and standard varieties (contrastive, grammatical analysis) with the aim of achieving separation of the two varieties. This can also entail discussions of appropriate contexts for dialect use.

Since this paper will focus on AAVE use in light of acquisition of SE, only accommodation and awareness approaches to AAVE will be covered, although the Bilingual Education literature (see Cummins, 1981) clearly demonstrates that proficiency in a first language aids acquisition of a second language. First this paper will briefly describe several ways to accommodate AAVE speakers' language in the classroom. Second, ways to foster awareness of grammatical differences between AAVE and SE will be addressed. References to Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research – and Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA) research when available – will be made throughout the paper. Finally, the need to raise students' and teachers' awareness of AAVE as a

legitimate language system will be discussed. This review of the literature will conclude with general recommendations for further research and implementation of programs that meet the academic needs of AAVE speaking students.

2. ACCOMMODATION

The development of dialect readers (texts that incorporate the grammatical and phonological forms of a nonstandard dialect) was historically one of the first strategies employed by educators who wanted to improve the plight of AAVE speakers in the school system. In 1973 Leaverton conducted a study involving elementary students in the experimental group reading four stories in AAVE, and students in the control group reading the same stories in SE. The treatment group made significantly fewer errors than the students did in the comparison group on several tests of reading comprehension.

Experimental use of AAVE dialect readers in the 1970's is most notably associated with the *Bridge* series (Simpkins, Holt, & Simpkins, 1977), which contained versions of stories in AAVE, a transitional language, and SE. In a study of 504 seventh grade students (98% of whom were black), Simpkins & Simpkins (1981) found significant improvement in reading ability for seventh-grade students who read the *Bridge* materials – a gain almost four times that of the control group which continued to use conventional materials. In addition to the comprehension and self-concept benefits of reading in AAVE, a contributing factor to such high gains may have been the high student interest in the stories' plots which drew upon African-American pre-adolescent experience – in stark contrast to the traditional basal readers. If applied to initial literacy, dialect readers may have significant positive effects on acquisition of SE literacy (Cummins, 1981).

However, the *Bridge* program ended abruptly when Houghton Mifflin stopped publishing the series as a result of parent and teacher complaints (Labov, 1995). Nonetheless, a recent small-scale study (Maroney, Thomas, Lawrence, & Salcedo, 1994, cited in Rickford & Rickford, 1995) also showed positive results with the use of dialect readers among seventh graders, especially in terms of reading comprehension (see also Choy & Dodd, 1976; Speidel, Kobayashi, & Tharp, 1985 for similar results with Hawai'i Creole English) and motivation. Despite the overwhelmingly positive empirical findings, dialect readers are often challenging to use, as a result of public outcry and a lack of up-to-date materials. However G. Simpkins is currently developing anew set of dialect readers for AAVE speakers (Labor 1995). (Reading instruction can be adapted to meet the needs of dialect speakers more effectively.)

For instance, the content of readings may play a key role in determining student motivation and interest. Harris (1995) reported that a focus on African-American literature strengthened the home-school connection. And Rickford (1999) found in a study of 25 minority middle school students (15 of whom were African-American) that student interest in reading skyrocketed when African-American folk tales and stories became the focus of reading lessons. Students also performed better on higher-order questions which required critical thinking after reading African-American themed stories – in contrast to the conventional course reading material.

In reading, it seems that comprehension should be the goal. Unfortunately, for many teachers who have students read aloud in class, the purpose is not on decoding meaning per se, but rather on accurately identifying words and pronouncing them "correctly" (Spiegel and Rogers, 1980, p. 8). Labov pointed out in 1970 that reading teachers should "make the *fundamental distinction between a mistake in reading and a difference in pronunciation*" (original emphasis, p. 44). A difference in pronunciation does not automatically mark a comprehension problem or error (Alexander, 1980). However, in a questionnaire study of two hundred students pursuing graduate work in Education (83% of whom were experienced teachers), Cunningham (1976-1977) found that teachers are about three times more likely to correct AAVE-specific miscues than other errors. As Leaverton pointed out back in 1973, "The traditional approaches to reading and oral language programs for the most part have not considered the possible negative effect that constant criticism of the child's nonstandard speech patterns can have on the interaction between teacher and child and on the ultimate learning process" (p. 125). Constant correction of students' native speech patterns would definitely be expected to have a deleterious effect on students' morale and self-confidence, especially in terms of reading.

Although more research needs to be undertaken in this area, it appears that AAVE speakers are disadvantaged in learning to read in that they may be frequently interrupted by teachers and asked to make corrections based on dialect differences. Silent reading is a viable alternative for encouraging reading for comprehension and enables educators to avoid some of the complications surrounding responses to dialect-related miscues, especially those which are solely an issue of pronunciation. Since reading aloud is not actually a task students will generally be called upon to do outside of school, perhaps practicing SE pronunciation belongs elsewhere in the curriculum. The Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) in Hawai'i has had great success at increasing Hawai'i Creole English (HCE) speaking students' standardized reading test scores by

implementing an instructional reading program which involves three steps for students: contextualizing the story in a small group, reading silently, and discussing the text (Calfee et al, 1981).

Similarly, teachers of AAVE students can have students participate in pre-writing discussions following a "topic-associating" (Sato, 1989) style of communication rather than the "topic-centered" style of traditional pedagogy, since a "topic associating" approach has been shown to be the method of discussion preferred by some AAVE speakers. A "topic associating" style enables students to relate a school topic to prior experience and creative ideas, rather than restricting students to following a more linear pattern or limiting them to a simple question and answer routine. Michaels (1981) first documented this preference for a "topic associating" style among African-American children in an ethnically mixed first grade classroom during "sharing time" and observed the teacher's inability to respond effectively or appropriately to this style of speaking. Both Boggs (1972) and Malcolm (1994) have also described similar preferences with regards to HCE and Australian Aboriginal English speakers, respectively.

Although not a parallel situation in terms of SDA, a focus on first language expression styles was successfully extended to the actual writing process in a university Hawaiian language class (Warner, 1998). The students were inspired to write about their own experiences following the lively discussions which ensued from the invitation to "talk story." Then, instead of being required to write in Hawaiian immediately, the students were asked to first write in their home language, HCE. This approach was taken because when students had initially written stories in Hawaiian, they were dry, lifeless, and absent of emotion; students were concentrating on the grammatical structures of the new language – instead of concentrating on content, whereas when writing in HCE, the students were able to express themselves using the full range of language: concrete to metaphorical. This step was used as a transition to writing in Hawaiian and resulted in self-affirmation for students whose identities were closely tied to HCE.

A similar language experience approach could be used to teach writing to AAVE speakers. This method could serve as a bridge to writing in SE, but writing in AAVE would not necessarily have to cease. AAVE writing samples may even provide a starting point for some kind of grammatical comparison between the two dialects. Although the grammar translation method has been dismissed as inefficient and ineffective in SLA (e.g., Long & Crookes, 1993), there may be a place for *some* type of direct translation in SDA in cases where the two varieties (e.g., AAVE and SE) are so similar that nothing short of explicit instruction and sustained, conscious noticing could potentially "push" students to acquire the second dialect. Or perhaps this approach would only be effective as a means to raise students' consciousness about how subtle some of the differences between the two dialects actually are.

3. LANGUAGE AWARENESS

Because AAVE and SE actually have many common features, distinction between the two dialects can cause confusion for students. Language awareness programs seek to draw students' attention to these distinguishing characteristics – with the hope of facilitating recognition of the differences between the two closely related varieties. Such an approach for AAVE speakers could begin with an analysis of AAVE with student speakers serving as the experts, informing non-AAVE speaking teachers and classmates about AAVE use and structures. For Example, Delpit (1988) describes one teacher, Amanda Branscombe, who had students analyze rap songs to discover the underlying patterns of the language used (presumably AAVE).

A couple of studies on AAVE speaking students' acquisition of SE have taken a traditional approach to grammar instruction by teaching SE grammar (without mention of or comparison to AAVE). In 1972 Torrey analyzed the speech of 27 AAVE-speaking second graders, using numerous techniques: elicited spontaneous speech, context-cue test, picture-meaning test, oral reading, and reading comprehension. After a five-week treatment which involved explicit instruction in the use of specific grammatical structures in SE that differ from those of AAVE, students only showed significant improvement on the picture-meaning test. This measure itself was questionable as a measure of mastery of SE grammatical functions in that it required subjects merely to point to the correct picture after reading a phrase (e.g.: "the duck's nurse" vs. "the duck nurse" – the first being a picture of a duck sick in bed with a human nurse standing nearby and the second a picture of a duck in a nurse's uniform). The assessment activities the students had to perform lacked authenticity, had no grounding in the children's experience, and emphasized a minute point of grammar: the possessive. In addition, no control group was used nor was delayed post-test administered.

Ball's (1992) replication of Torrey's 1972 study was similarly flawed but did incorporate a literature-based component for teaching SE to AAVE speakers. One group received literature-based instruction using story books with multi-cultural or African-American characters and themes as a topic for grammatical discussions – followed by writing in SE with a special focus on one discrete point of grammar. After an eight-week treatment period, this group showed more consistent gains in SE plural morpheme usage and possessives than the group which also received explicit instruction in grammatical structures – without the meaning base of literature,

although this group did show gains in the SE marking of singular verbs. In addition, both groups showed significant improvement in acquiring "is" copula usage. Thus, both types of explicit instruction seem to be somewhat helpful in teaching AAVE speakers specific points of SE grammar that differ from AAVE, although the backdrop of literature seemed to have facilitated grammatical learning. However, neither of these studies was adequately longitudinal to ascertain whether or not such gains were temporary or permanent. Problematically, short-term studies on effect of instruction also plague most SLA research (Norris & Ortega, *in press*).

Studies of instructional techniques incorporating contrastive analysis (a comparison of AAVE and SE on specific structures) came later. Rickford (1997) has reported on two unpublished studies (Taylor, 1989 and Parker and Christ, 1995 cited in Rickford, 1997), as well as an educational program for predominantly AAVE speaking students in De Kalb County, Georgia, that all demonstrated tremendous success with the use of contrastive analysis, that is drawing "students' attention specifically to the differences between the vernacular and the standard language" (Rickford, 1997, p. 8) in an effort to facilitate acquisition of the standard. For example, in Taylor's (1989) eleven-week study, the treatment group's tendency to reduce the singular /s/ verb marker decreased by 92%, whereas the students in the control group decreased their use of this feature by only 11%. In a related case, an African-American teacher in Los Angeles employed contrastive analysis, copying AAVE sentences from third-graders' stories about themselves onto overhead projector transparencies and then having students come up and write translations of the sentences into SE – with the goal of publication being the impetus (Menacker, personal communication). These studies focused on both oral and written acquisition of SE.

Unfortunately, all too often the research on AAVE in the field of Education has not been informed by research in the field of Applied Linguistics and more specifically, Second Language Acquisition (SLA), and the opposite is also true: SLA researchers have generally not turned to findings in Education as a springboard for future research. In the field of SLA, the more explicit and often metalinguistic Focus on FormS – exemplified in several of the aforementioned studies – has been criticized for its pre-emptive nature and has been empirically demonstrated not to work. Focus on FormS has thus been widely discredited for not being a response to observed and teachable learner needs (see Long & Robinson, *in press*). In the SLA literature the most widely embraced way to draw students' attention to linguistic form is the more subtle and reactive Focus on Form; the aim is to create a situation in which learners can simultaneously process "form, meaning, and use in working memory" (Doughty, *in press*, p. 319; also Long & Robinson, *in press*). Applied linguists are presently inquiring about how teachers can help learners to notice the gap between the target-like feature and their own utterance and then create optimal conditions under which learners can process that information without undue interruption of the content communication at hand. The reactive nature and timing of the intervention is crucial with Focus on Form techniques, such as recasts, which have been much studied (Boon, 1998; Doughty and Varela, 1998).

The research on SDA is scant, though, and it remains unclear whether more implicit or explicit focus on form is better. However, it is possible that in the case of distinguishing between AAVE and SE, metalinguistic discussions (a throwback to the taboo Focus on FormS) regarding dialect differences could enhance "the learning of the standard variety through the heightened sensitivity to language variation" (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998, p. 312). Since the two dialects are so closely related, different measures may need to be taken than for other second language learning in which there is usually little to no confusion of codes (Rickford, 1997b; Siegel, 1998). Minimal research has addressed these questions so there is still some room for speculation.

Perhaps for AAVE students, mastery of SE – unless explicitly discussed – may not even be a conscious target, as it presumably is for most English as a Second Language (ESL) learners. Perhaps language awareness approaches involving some kind of reactive, but more explicit grammar comments could be incorporated into feedback on student writing, and a more implicit, less "face threatening" approach could be taken when addressing oral proficiency in SE. For example, as in Doughty and Varela (1998), teachers could videotape students' oral presentations and then meet individually to watch the videotape with each student and recast AAVE as SE within the framework of a discussion on how they could "translate" their talk into SE if the purpose were to present to an audience unfamiliar with AAVE.

In addition to focusing on grammar, metalinguistic discussions in language awareness can also focus on larger-scale language issues. Siegel (1998) calls for the establishment of a general language awareness program aimed at increasing awareness of dialect diversity on the part of all students: those who speak nonstandard varieties and those who speak the standard. The intention of a "dialect awareness program" is "to promote an understanding of and appreciation for language variation" (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998, p. 297) through an overview of the social, political, and historical factors affecting language development and standardization.

Language awareness programs also typically incorporate discussions of when it is appropriate to use each variety. But Fairclough (1995) argues against the assumption that there are "clear-cut and determinate . . . contexts and purposes" (p. 237) within which to speak one language variety instead of another. Language,

situations, and interlocutors vary extensively. Appropriateness models which attempt to “teach” students *when* to use *which* language variety are “ideologies” which project “imaginary representations of sociolinguistic reality” (p. 247). No single rule of domain separation can even begin to explain the complex uses of language among bidialectals – from code-switching to register-adjustment to irony.

Fairclough (1995) holds that it is necessary to teach *critical* language awareness. As Fairclough observes,

Portraying standard English and other languages and varieties as differing in conditions of appropriateness is dressing up inequality as diversity: standard English is “appropriate” in situations which carry social clout, while other varieties are “appropriate” at the margins. (p. 225)

Fairclough (1995) believes in the teaching of SE for practical reasons, but supports language awareness education that takes a critical approach to languages (dominant and nonstandard varieties), questioning the “arbitrariness of [the] codes” and “the power relationships they represent (Delpit, 1988, p. 500). The goal of critical analysis is ultimately “emancipation” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 232); the freedom to choose, as an informed speaker of language, whether to live within or outside of social constraints, knowing that dialect and language use are not clearly defined and compartmentalized across situations and individuals, but rather are complicated and dynamic.

In her powerful essay entitled “Nobody Mean More to me than You and the Future Life of Willie Jordan: July 1985,” Jordan (1995) describes how her predominantly African-American college students grappled with the complex issues Fairclough (1995) theorizes about. The students initially reacted quite negatively to the language in Alice Walker’s *The Color Purple*, believing that AAVE should not have been used in “literature.” But through their subsequent efforts to translate AAVE passages from the novel into SE, they began to appreciate the tremendous power AAVE had to convey subtle meaning – in stark contrast to passages translated into SE which sounded ridiculously heavy-handed. Toward the end of the course, a classmate’s unarmed brother was mistakenly identified by police and killed. The class responded by writing a letter of condolence to the student, Willie Jordan, as well as letters of protest to the police department and a local newspaper. After a heated debate, the class ultimately decided to write the letters in AAVE. Jordan ends her article with Willie Jordan’s entire, unedited essay on apartheid in South Africa and a related but different kind of lack of freedom in the United States. By sharing her students’ experience, Jordan demonstrates how college students (who seem to have already mastered both AAVE and SE) can be empowered to take a critical stance on language use and power dynamics in society. Although such an approach may not directly assist SDA, this critical language awareness can be one aspect of a program designed to meet the needs of students actively engaging in SDA, as well as those who have already achieved this goal.

4. TEACHER TRAINING

As exemplified by Jordan’s (1995) open-mindedness, teachers of speakers of AAVE can have a strong influence on building students’ confidence in expressing themselves. Unfortunately, AAVE speaking students are often confronted with negative stereotypes by both white and black teachers who react negatively to AAVE use (Cunningham, 1976-1977; Piestrup, 1973; Williams and Whitehead, 1973). In a study of fifty student teachers (25 of whom were in the experimental group and 25 in the control group), Billiard and Driscoll (1979) found that after 40 hours of training in AAVE student teachers possessed a significantly better attitude toward and comprehension of AAVE than their untrained counterparts.

Thus, many researchers (e.g., Billiard & Driscoll, 1979; Cunningham, 1976-1977; Foster, 1992; Shuy, 1973) have called for social language awareness not only for students but also for teachers. Siegel (1998) proposes incorporating awareness of dialects, creoles, and pidgins into teacher education programs as a gradual step towards legitimization of students’ nonstandard language varieties – with the preliminary objective of a compulsory dialect awareness unit in all language arts courses and the ultimate goal of incorporating dialect use into the classroom from both accommodation and awareness perspectives.

Teachers who try to incorporate AAVE into the classroom, however, may be met with strong opposition from the school administration and parents. Therefore, teachers should be prepared to defend their position with academic research. Rickford (1997a) has eloquently urged sociolinguists who research AAVE and its speakers to take responsibility for serving the community members in exchange for their assistance. He advocates a relationship of advocacy and empowerment which includes reporting research findings to the community in an accessible way and collaborating with the community on projects which seek to apply what has been learned to the meeting of community needs (Rickford, 1997a). Such resources must be made more widely available to teachers through teacher training programs, as mentioned above, as well as through seminars and workshops conducted as part of teachers’ continuing education. Communication between university researchers and classroom teachers should be enhanced, and teachers who are interested should be provided with the tools to become classroom researchers and thus evaluate their own program (Crookes, 1998).

5. CONCLUSION

In sum, those who vehemently oppose the use of AAVE in the education system generally ignore the relevant research which supports the use of dialects (and specifically AAVE) "as a tool and resource in the teaching of reading and writing" in SE (Linguistic Society of America, 1997, p. 2). Educating the public – and especially parents – regarding dialect usage in school is of utmost importance (Morgan, 1999) since any sustainable program of AAVE use in school will require community acknowledgement of the value of such an approach. However, it is important to strike a balance between waiting for full community involvement in implementing such a program and not letting today's African-American students "fall between the cracks" from neglect just because the political climate is not primed to embrace their unique linguistic and cultural contributions to the school setting.

This paper has briefly touched on some of the possibilities for incorporating AAVE into the classroom to improve AAVE speaking students' academic achievement and acquisition of SE. Although "the scope of the problem is clearly national," a curriculum that incorporates AAVE needs to be adopted on a community by community basis (Baugh, 1981, p. 31). Hence, a few pilot programs should be set up in schools with large populations of AAVE speaking students. Such pilot programs will serve as venues for much-needed research and – hopefully – as confirmations of the benefits of certain kinds of accommodation and awareness. Then, empirical evidence, media attention, and student and parent testimonies could go a long way in promoting the cause of equal educational opportunity for AAVE speakers through school policies that factor in dialect as both an asset worth maintaining and a valuable tool in the acquisition of SE.

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SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE CHINESE REFLEXIVE *ZIJI*

Chengzhi Chu, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the semantic nature of referential dependency of the Chinese reflexive *ziji*. It attempts to demonstrate that neither any parameterized versions of Binding theory, nor any purely discursive/pragmatic characterizations are adequate for the interpretation of *ziji*. On the contrary, it shows that semantics systematically constrains the understanding of *ziji* in Chinese. Semantic constraints constitute an indispensable condition in the core of the grammar of *ziji*, and cannot be dismissed as lexical idiosyncrasy. *

1. INTRODUCTION

Reflexives, together with other anaphoric devices such as pronominal and zero anaphors, have been a central issue in linguistic theory since Chomsky made his claim in the early 80s that anaphoric relations reflect underlying principles of Universal Grammar (Chomsky 1981). In the paradigm of Government and Binding (GB) theory, it is alleged that an anaphor must be bound in its governing category (Binding Principle A). This claim has turned out to be cross-linguistically problematic with long-distance reflexivization being observed and widely reported in languages like Chinese, Italian, Japanese and Korean. Regarding the long-distance feature of the Chinese reflexive *ziji*, GB theorists are forced to provide re-explanations of the standard Binding Principle A in various parameterized versions (such as Wang & Stilling 1984, Battistella & Xu 1990, Huang & Tang 1991, Sung & Cole 1997, among many others). In contrast to the formalist accounts of long-distance reflexivization which insist on the autonomy of syntax, linguists working within discourse/pragmatic paradigms propose some functional characterizations of Chinese *ziji* by suggesting that the interpretation of reflexives is in the last analysis discourse-pragmatically controlled (e.g., Chen 1992, Huang 1994). Under this situation, Chinese reflexive *ziji*, like other anaphoric devices, has become a fruitful testing ground for various competing hypotheses.

Studies within the formalist and the functional paradigms both throw considerable insights into the understanding of *ziji*. However, in my point of view, neither a purely syntactic characterization nor a purely discourse-based theory of the relation between *ziji* and its antecedent is adequate. A complete theory of reflexive interpretation must give full consideration to the role that semantics plays.

In this paper, I will explore the semantic nature of referential dependency of the Chinese reflexive *ziji*. Evidenced by a wide range of data, I will illustrate that semantic constraints, alongside syntactic requirements and discourse-pragmatic principles discussed (or not discussed yet) before, constitute an indispensable condition for the interpretation of *ziji*. The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly discusses the inadequacy of the treatments of *ziji* within the GB paradigm and along discourse/pragmatic approaches. Section 3 analyzes the regularity of semantic condition on understanding *ziji* and argues for the grammatical nature of the condition. In section 4, more types of evidences are given to further illustrate the arguments. Section 5 is a short conclusion.

2. FORMALIST AND FUNCTIONAL TREATMENTS OF *ZIJI*: PROBLEMS AND THE SOLUTION

It has been widely noted in the literature that the Chinese reflexive *ziji* can find its binder either within its governing category or outside this local domain. Under this situation, how to tackle the locality problem of *ziji* has become a focus of attention in Chinese generative syntax over the past ten years. A number of strategies have been taken within GB paradigm, such as redefining the notion of local domain for *ziji* (e.g., Battistella and Xu 1990), and, more commonly and most currently, proposing LF-movement to reduce long-distance binding to a sequence of local dependencies (e.g., Huang & Tang 1991, Sung & Cole 1997; cf. Huang 1994). No matter what kind of strategy was taken or what kind of proposal was made, the formalist accounts of *ziji*

presume without exception that the interpretation of *ziji* depends wholly upon the structural relations between *ziji* and its potential antecedent (cf. Chen 1992). Following this precept tenet of syntactic autonomy developed since Chomsky (1957), a logical inference concerning the interpretation of *ziji* can be formulated as in (1), even though it is not clearly spelled out by formalist writers.

- (1) The Chinese reflexive *ziji* must receive the same referential dependency interpretation in two sentences which are consistent in their syntactic configurations.

To examine whether (1) is tenable or not, let us consider the following minimal pair:

- (2) a. Yang Daniang_i danxin nü'er_j bu dongde baoyang ziji_{i/j}
 Yang aunt worry daughter not know maintain self
 'Aunt Yang is worried that her daughter does not know how to take good care of herself.'
 b. Yang Daniang_i danxin nü'er_j bu dongde cihou ziji_{i/j}
 Yang aunt worry daughter not know wait on self
 'Aunt Yang is worried that her daughter does not know how to serve her.'

As can be observed, (2a) and (2b) are structurally and lexically identical, with the only difference that the main verb *baoyang* 'maintain' in the embedded clause in (2a) is replaced by *cihou* 'wait on' in (2b). However, this difference does not affect in any sense the structural identity of (2a) and (2b), since both *baoyang* and *cihou* are transitive verbs. In short, (2a) and (2b) demonstrate exactly the same syntactic configurations. Then, if (1) is a correct presumption along the formalist line, (2a) and (2b) must be consistent with each other concerning the binding relation of *ziji* within each sentence. However, this expectation is not observed in these two sentences. As indicated by the indexing markers, *ziji* in (2a) is co-indexed with nü'er 'daughter', the subject of the embedded clause. It finds its antecedent within its governing category and thus observes the standard version of the Binding Principle A. In (2b), the reflexive *ziji* is not bound to the local subject nü'er 'daughter'. It takes the root subject *Yang daniang* 'Aunt Yang' as its antecedent.

The fact that sentences which are structurally identical but display different binding relations of *ziji* as illustrated in (2) brings a serious problem to formalist approach. It leads us to conclude that syntactical constraints, if there are any, are not the only condition which is imposed on the choice of antecedent for the Chinese reflexive *ziji*. Non-syntactic factors must also play a key role. In (2), those non-syntactic factors even override structural conditions suggested by generative grammarians.

The inadequacy of formalist solutions to Chinese *ziji* has been a focus of discussion over the past ten years (e.g., Chen 1992, Xu 1994, Huang 1994, Pollard and Xue 1998). Efforts aiming to explore nonsyntactic conditions on interpreting *ziji* were mainly made within the paradigm of discourse/pragmatics in terms of such notions as logophoricity, discourse prominence, and intensification. Among those analyses, Chen (1992) offers an articulate theory which asserts that the interpretation of *ziji* is best characterized by a functional account based on the notions of pivot and topicality in discourse. 'The pivot is the one with respect to whose (space-time) location the content of the proposition is evaluated.' The topicality of a nominal expression in discourse is mainly determined by three factors: givenness-newness, perspective, and salience. In Chinese, the reflexive *ziji* tends to be bound to a referent that is the pivot and stands high in topicality in discourse. Let us first consider example (3) to see how the notion of topicality works.¹

- (3) Mouren_i jinggao Laowang_j ziji_{i/j} de shengming anquan zheng shoudao weixie.
 someone warn LW self DE life safety DUR suffer threat
 'Someone_i warned LW_j that his_{i/j} life was in danger.'

According to Chen (1992), the matrix subject of (3), *mouren* 'someone', is lexically encoded in terms of low topicality device (i.e., it stands low in Chen's 'givenness hierarchy'). This is the reason that *ziji* is coreferential with the embedded subject *Laowang* (but not the matrix subject *mouren* 'someone') which stands high in topicality along the nonsyntactic dimensions.

To what extent that Chen's explanation of *ziji* in terms of the notion of topicality is feasible requires further examination. Consider example (4) below:

- (4) Mouren_i gaosu Laowang_j ziji_{ij} de shengming anquan zheng shoudao weixie.
 someone tell LW self DE life safety DUR suffer threat
 'Someone_i told LW_j that his_{ij} life was in danger.'

(4) is obtained by changing *jinggao* 'warn', the main verb of the matrix clause in (3) with the verb *gaosu* 'tell'. (4) keeps all the discourse features and the structural configuration of (3). The lexical items and the topicality of the matrix subject and the embedded subject of (4) are exactly the same as those in (3). Nevertheless, Chen's functional explanation of (3) cannot be applied to (4). In (4), *ziji* has two readings. It can be bound to either the long-distance subject *mouren* 'someone' or the local subject *Lao Wang* 'Old Wang', with the long-distance subject as the preferred candidate.

The comparison of (3) and (4) reveals that the account of *ziji* based on the discourse notion of topicality is inadequate. Similar flaws can also be found with respect to the notion of pivot suggested by Chen (1992). Let us take the following pair as illustration:

- (5) a. Ta_i zhidao tamen_j dui ziji_{ij} meiyou xinxin.
 he know they to self no confidence
 'He knew that they were not confident in him/themselves.'
 b. Ta_i zhidao tamen_j dui ziji_{ij} meiyou jiexin.
 he know they to self no wariness
 'He knew that they were not wary of him.'

As can be observed, (5a) and (5b) constitute a minimal pair, with the later being formed by replacing the nominal expression *xinxin* 'confidence' in the former with another nominal expression *jiexin* 'wariness'. *Xinxin* and *jiexin* occupy the same position in the two sentences. With the notion of pivot to be concerned, all corresponding nominal expressions in (5a) and (5b) must receive the same understanding. However, the identity of discourse and structural properties of (5a) and (5b) does not warrant the consistency of binding relations with respect to *ziji* in the two sentences. As indicated by the indexing markers, *ziji* in (5a) has two readings, one is locally bound and the other is bound in long-distance; *ziji* in (5b) can only be locally bound.²

To sum up what we have discussed in this section, two sentences, such as (2a) and (2b), (3) and (4), (5a) and (5b), which have the same syntactic configurations and the same discourse features, may demonstrate different characteristics concerning the referential relations of *ziji* in the sentences. This fact suggests that neither any parameterized versions of Binding theory proposed by generative linguists nor functional characterizations which point to discourse notions like pivot or topicality are adequate for the interpretation of *ziji*.

After a careful observation of these paired sentences, we can find that what is involved in the different referential dependency of *ziji* in each pair is semantics. Despite the same syntactic properties of the contrastive words *baoyang* and *cihou* in (2a) and (2b), *jinggao* and *gaosu* in (3) and (4), and *xinxin* and *jiexin* in (5a) and (5b), differences between their semantic features bring different constraints on interpreting *ziji* to each sentence. The semantic constraints are critical in deciding antecedents for *ziji* in the sentences. In the next section, I will discuss the nature of semantic constraints on understanding *ziji* in Chinese.

3. IDENTIFYING ANTECEDENTS FOR *ZIJI*: THE ROLE OF SEMANTICS

As a first step in explicating the role of semantics in the interpretation of *ziji*, let us look more closely at (2a) and (2b), which were given in section 2 above. In (2a), the main verb of the embedded clause *baoyang* 'take good care of (oneself's health)' is a transitive verb. It syntactically takes an agent and a patient in its argument structure. Semantically, *baoyang* is a 'self-oriented' word. It requires the agent and patient to be co-referential: they must refer to the same individual in the real world. That is to say, in the native speakers'

knowledge, one can only 'baoyang' oneself, but cannot 'baoyang' others. To meet this 'co-referential agent and patient' requirement imposed by the self-oriented meaning property of *baoyang*, *ziji* in (2a), which appears in the object slot of the embedded clause, can only be bound to *nü'er*, the agent of *baoyang* and the subject of the same clause as *ziji*, but not to the matrix subject *Yang daning*.³

Compared with (2a), (2b) represents an opposite situation. *Cihou* 'wait on', the verb of the embedded clause in (2b) is a 'non-self-oriented' verb. It semantically requires that its agent and patient refer to different individuals in the real world. That is to say, one can only 'cihou' others, but cannot 'cihou' oneself. This non-self-oriented semantic feature of *cihou* brings about the constraint on the reading of (2b) that *ziji* in the embedded clause must not take the local subject *nü'er* 'daughter' as its antecedent. Under this condition, the long-distance subject *Yang daniang* 'Aunt Yang' becomes the only choice as being the binder of *ziji*.⁴

The contrast between (2a) and (2b) clearly suggests the crucial role of word meaning in the interpretation of *ziji*. To demonstrate this point further, let us consider another example:

- (6) Yang daniang_i danxin nü'er_j bu dongde zhaogu ziji_{ij}
 Yang aunt worry daughter not know take care of self
 'Aunt Yang is worried that her daughter does not know how to take care of her/herself.'

(6) is formed by replacing the verb of the embedded clause in (2) with the transitive verb *zhaogu* 'take care of', and keeps other lexical items and the syntactic configuration of (2). Given the semantic contrast between the self-oriented verb *baoyang* in (2a) and the non-self-oriented verb *cihou* in (2b), the verb *zhaogu* in (6) is semantically 'orientation-neutral': Native speakers' knowledge of this word is that one can not only 'zhaogu' oneself, but can also 'zhaogu' others.⁵ In other words, *zhaogu* can take both coreferential and non-coreferential participants as the agent and the patient in its argument structure. Correspondingly, *ziji* in (6) can be bound either to the local subject *nü'er* or to the long-distance subject *Yang daning*, as the index markers indicate. Clearly, the situation presented in (6) further confirms the observation we made on (2) that word meaning constrains the interpretation of *ziji*.

At this point, a significant question we need to address is how to capture the nature of this kind of word meaning which constrains the reflexive interpretation in Chinese. A widely held view of the word meaning in question is that it is a kind of idiosyncratic word-specific information which should be listed in the lexicon of a language but not be a part of the grammar. However, as Levin (1993) points out, 'this view of lexicon offers an incomplete picture of lexical knowledge as a whole'. A considerable amount of research done over the past decade strongly suggest that various aspects of the syntactic behavior of words are regularly tied to word meaning, and words that fall into classes according to shared behavior would be expected to show shared meaning components. This kind of regular and systematic association between word meaning and syntactic behavior forms a part of language speakers' knowledge of grammar. This knowledge enables a native speaker to make subtle determinations about word behavior from word meaning. (cf. Talmy 1985, Pinker 1989, Levin 1993, Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998). To illuminate this point about the nature of word knowledge with respect to the binding relation of *ziji*, let us extend our observation into a larger context.

In Chinese, an important fact is that verbs which bear semantic requirements on the referential relations of their arguments are not limited to *baoyang*, *cihou* and *zhaogu*, but each of them represents a set of verbs.

- (7) a. *Baoyang*-type verbs: *baoyang* 'take care of', *fanxing* 'introspect', *kezhi* 'restrain', *yayi* 'inhibit', *mainong* 'show off', *xuanyao* 'flaunt', *kuayao* 'flaunt', *yanshi* 'cover up', ...
 b. *Cihou*-type verbs: *cihou* 'wait on', *gensui* 'follow', *chaoguo* 'surpass', *daiti* 'take the place of', *baoda* 'repay', *fandui* 'oppose', *zhuiqiu* 'pursue', *shuyuan* 'estrangle', *yujian* 'meet', *qing* 'invite', *jia* 'marry', *song* 'give' ...
 c. *Zhaogu*-type verbs: *zhaogu* 'take care of', *baohu* 'protect', *piping* 'criticize', *weiqu* 'wrongly treat', *zhemo* 'persecute', *chuipeng* 'boast', *baolu* 'reveal', *kongzhi* 'control', *liaojie* 'understand', *tixing* 'remind', *ai* 'love', *hai* 'harm' ...

Clearly, the three types of verbs show systematic differences in meaning: Members of *baoyang*-type of verbs are all self-oriented, and thus syntactically require their participants in argument structure to be co-referential; members of *cihou*-type of verbs are all non-self-oriented, and syntactically require their participants in argument structure not to be co-referential; and members of *zhaogu*-type of verbs are all orientation-neutral, and their arguments can be either coreferential or non-coreferential. More importantly, each set of verbs which share the same semantic-orientation property and the corresponding participant co-referential constraint would be expected to demonstrate the same constraint on the referential dependency of *ziji* in relevant sentences. Therefore, predictions about binding relations of *ziji* in relevant sentences can be made from lexical semantics in a concise and straightforward manner.

- (8) a. If *ziji* is an argument of a self-oriented verb, it takes a local antecedent;
 b. If *ziji* is an argument of a non-self-oriented verb, it has a long-distance antecedent;
 c. If *ziji* is an argument of an orientation-neutral verb, it can be bound to either a local antecedent or a long-distance antecedent.

That the predictions made in (8) hold true is confirmed by a wide range of data. The following is one example:

- (9) a. Laozhang_i yao Xiaowang_j fanxing ziji_{i,j}
 LZ ask XW introspect self
 'LZ asked XW to introspect himself.'
 b. Laozhang_i yao Xiaowang_j gensui ziji_{i**j}
 LZ ask XW follow self
 'LZ asked XW to follow him.'
 c. Laozhang_i yao Xiaowang_j baohu ziji_{i,j}
 LZ ask XW protect self
 'LZ asked LW to protect him/himself.'

So far, it is clear that there are inherent associations between lexical semantics and the binding dependency of *ziji* in Chinese. Moreover, the associations are regular and systematic. They cannot be ignored as idiosyncratic word-specific properties. On the contrary, the regular associations conceptualized in speakers' knowledge strongly suggest that general principles are at work in the core of grammar. Therefore, in a complete theory of reflexive interpretation, semantics must be integrated as an indispensable part of that whole which imposes systematic constraints on the binding dependency of *ziji*.

4. MORE EVIDENCES

In section 3 above, we have argued for the grammatical nature of semantic constraints on reflexive interpretation by illustrating verbs bearing specific semantic-orientation properties and their corresponding influence on the understanding of *ziji* in relevant sentences. In fact, semantic constraints on binding dependency of *ziji* can be observed in a wide range of data, with many aspects of word and sentence meaning being involved. For instance, besides verbs, a lot of adjectives and nouns also bear semantic-orientation properties and thus will constrain the understanding of *ziji* if an adjective or noun of this type is a part of the 'logic predicate' of a clause with *ziji* as one of its arguments. The case of nouns can be observed from the contrast between (5a) and (5b) given in section 2, with *xinxin* 'confidence' in (5a) being an 'orientation-neutral' noun and *jiexin* 'wariness' in (5b) a 'non-self-orientated' one. (10) below exemplifies the case of adjectives:

- (10) a. Laozhang_i juede Xiaowang_j dui ziji_{i,j} tai lengmo le.
 LZ think XW to self too indifferent LE
 'LZ thinks that XW is too indifferent to him.'
 b. Laozhang_i juede Xiaowang_j dui ziji_{i,j} tai keke le.
 LZ think XW to self too harsh LE
 'LZ thinks that XW is too harsh to him/himself.'

Lengmo 'indifferent' in (10a) is semantically 'non-self-oriented' and *keke* 'harsh' in (10b) 'orientation-neutral'. This semantic contrast between the two adjectives explains the different interpretation of *ziji* in the two sentences, as suggested by the index markers.

Examples (11) and (12) represent two more different types of situations:

- (11) a. Laozhang_i yiwei na tiao gou_j zhidao ziji_{i/*j} ma de ren shi xiaotou.
 LZ think that CL dog know self scold DE person be thief
 'Laozhang thought that the dog knew that the person he scolded was a thief.'
 b. Laozhang_i yiwei na tiao gou_j zhidao ziji_{i/j} yao de ren shi xiaotou.
 LZ think that CL dog know self bite DE person be thief
 'Laozhang thought that the dog knew that the person it bit was a thief.'

The verb *ma* 'scold' in (11a) denotes a human behavior, *yao* 'bite' in (11b) specifies a kind of animal behavior. Clearly, it is the differences of semantic domains involved in the two verbs that trigger the different binding relations of *ziji* in the two sentences.

- (12) a. Zhangsan_i yiwei Lisi_j bu zhidao ziji_{i/*j} mai-le caipiao.
 ZS think LS not know self buy-LE lottery ticket
 'ZS_i thinks that LS_j doesn't know that he_{i/*j} bought a lottery ticket.'
 b. Zhangsan_i yiwei Lisi_j bu zhidao ziji_{i/j} zhong-le caipiao.
 ZS think LS not know self hit-LE lottery ticket
 'ZS_i thinks that LS_j doesn't know that he_{i/j} drew a prize-winning ticket.'

In (12), the interpretation of *ziji* involves the consistency of cross-clause semantic relationships in complex sentences. Pretheoretically, a volitional verb implies an action of which the agent is conscious. That is to say, 'one knows what one has purposely done.' By reference, 'if one does not know something, then that thing was not purposely done by him.' The logic involved in the semantics of the consciousness verb *zhidao* 'know' in the upper clause of (12a) and the volitional verb *mai* 'buy' in the complement clause of the sentence determines that *ziji* in this sentence can only be bound to *Zhangsan*, a person who is not the agent of the volitional action *mai* 'buy'. In (12b), since the verb *zhong* 'attain' is involitional in meaning, the semantic constraint imposed on (12a) does not exist in the sentence. Therefore, *ziji* in (12b) can be bound to either *Zhangsan* or *Lisi*. The situation presented in (12) suggests that the interpretation of *ziji* must maintain the consistency between various cross-clause semantic relations. This point also explains the contrast between (3) and (4) given in section 2.

5. CLOSING WORDS

This paper has shown that semantics, which involves many aspects of lexical meaning and sentence or cross-clause semantic relations, systematically constrains the understanding of *ziji* in Chinese. Semantic constraints form a part of general principles in the core of grammar, and cannot be labeled as lexical idiosyncrasy and dismissed with. Clearly, what we presented in this paper is only an initial exploration in this dimension. Further discussions are needed to work out the details.

NOTES

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The following abbreviations are used in the glosses throughout this paper: CL (classifier), DE (attributive particle *de*), DUR (durative aspect *zheng*), LE (perfective aspect *le*).

- 1 The example is from Chen (1992) with some change.
- 2 As can be observed, it is also difficult to imagine a formalist account of the contrasts between (3) and (4), (5a) and (5b) in any framework we are familiar with. Similarly, it is hard to imagine a purely discursal/pragmatic treatment of the contrast between (2a) and (2b).
- 3 If *ziji* in (2a) is interpreted as being co-referential with the matrix subject *Yang daniang*, then the sentence semantically suggests the following proposition: **Nü'er baoyang Yang daniang* 'The daughter (of Aunt Yang) takes care of Aunt Yang'. The non-identical relation between the agent and the patient of *baoyang* in this proposition contradicts the Chinese speakers' knowledge that the verb *baoyang* categorizes a self-oriented transitive relation. Therefore, the reading of *ziji* in (2a) as being bound to the matrix subject is unacceptable.
- 4 If *ziji* is interpreted as being bound to the local subject, it will result in the establishment of the following unacceptable proposition: **Nü'er cihou nü'er* '*The daughter waits on herself.'
- 5 Recall the participant co-referential constraints that the self-oriented verb *baoyang* and the non-self-oriented *cihou* bear we discussed earlier: One can only 'baoyang' oneself but not others; and one can only 'cihou' others but not oneself.

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FISSURE, BLINDNESS, AND THE GAZE IN NATSUME SÔSEKI'S *MEIAN*

William N. Ridgeway, *Department of East Asian Languages and Literature*

"Call me Ishmael."

"It was a bright cold day in April, and the clocks were striking thirteen."

"As Gregor Samsa awoke one morning from uneasy dreams he found himself transformed into a giant insect."

"It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife."

"He was an old man who fished alone in a skiff in the Gulf Stream and he had gone eighty-four days now without taking a fish."

"It was a dark and stormy night and the rain fell in torrents—except at occasional intervals, when it was checked by a violent gust of wind which swept up the streets (for it is in London that our scene lies), rattling along the housetops, and fiercely agitating the scanty flame of the lamps that struggled against the darkness."

"riverrun past Eve and Adam's from swerve of shore to bend of bay, brings us by a commodius vicus of recirculation back to Howth Castle and Environs."

Longtemps, je me suis couché de bonne heure.

Kokkyô no nagai tonneru wo nukeru to yukiguni de atta. ("The train came out of the long tunnel into snow country.")

Isha wa saguri o ireta ato de shujutsudai kara Tsuda o oroshita. ("After the doctor had probed the anal fissure, he helped Tsuda off the operating table.")

Over eighty years of criticism, analysis, interpretation and exegesis concerning Natsume Sôseki's (1867–1916) final novel *Meian* (1916) are forever magnetized to the text. I propose shaking up the text a bit to see what falls through the cracks. There is a large body of literature on Sôseki, a cottage industry in fact, to refer to for traditional and conventional readings.¹ For an alternative view, I shall look not for cohesiveness, unity and utopia but for points of fissure, rupture and dystopia. It is not the whole we shall consider but the gaps. In attempting to say something fresh and provocative about *Meian*, there is the risk of saying the same old thing in a new way or saying new things in the same old ways. I have attempted to avoid either temptation by linking my analysis to 18th and 19th century English novels of which Sôseki was a serious scholar and critic.² Many of the novels share the same concerns: the clash of modernity, the battle of the sexes, personal liberty, cash necessity, family pressures, the impinging of one personality on another, personal tyrannies, and willful personalities.

We begin with the anus. We begin with the anus because that is where Sôseki begins his novel *Meian*, with what is surely one of the most unusual opening passages of modern fiction:

After the doctor had probed the fistula, he helped Tsuda off the operating table.

"The fistula did go as far as the intestines, after all. When I probed it before, I found a great deal of scar tissue midway, and I actually thought it didn't go any farther. That's why I said what I did. But today, in scraping at it to drain it properly, I saw it goes quite a bit beyond that point." (LD, 1)

This passage is not to be taken lightly. Everything that develops in the course of a novel, as narratologists tell us, is anticipated in the beginning. All possible significant outcomes are already built into the opening of the story. The narrative is front-loaded to predict later developments—or, in this case, rear-ended. The anal fistula or fissure³ which is described in the first paragraphs of *Meian*, is emblematic of the protagonist's condition and functions as a central trope for the novel as a whole: hole, gap, fissure, rupture, blindness are all to be experienced (textually, thematically, epistemologically) later in the course of the work.

We should make it clear at this point that Sôseki never names the disease. Translator Viglielmo has provided the reader with the word "fistula," which does not appear in the Japanese text. To restore the ambiguity in Sôseki's opening sentences, I would translate it as follows:

After the doctor had made the probe, he helped Tsuda off the operating table.
 "Just as I thought, the hole did extend all the way to the intestines."

Many readers and critics (including Fredric Jameson) have mistakenly assumed the disease to be hemorrhoids, which clearly is not the case. The misunderstanding comes in part from Sôseki's medical journal in which he describes his own hemorrhoid operation:

In Sôseki's diary of 4 December 1911 he records going to the doctor and "when having the hemorrhoid opened and irrigated, what was thought to be 1.5 cm (5-bu) deep was actually 3 cm deeper." Sôseki went for hemorrhoid treatment for a long time and was also hospitalized for one week.
 (M, 598, n1. Translation is mine.)

A hole cannot be a hemorrhoid. The hole refers to a fissure in the rectal wall. Instead of anal fistula, I shall use the more common word "fissure." To return to the fundamental problem—one meaning of *fundament* being buttocks or anus—the *fundamental* problem then is Tsuda's anus, or more specifically *in* his anus. Tsuda suffers from a medical problem whose cure together with his convalescence constitute the major concern of the text. Disease and illness, we can safely assume, will be worked and figured into his narrative as a primary metaphor. But there is much more than this.

Tsuda nodded but did not speak. Near him, on the table beneath the southern window, was a microscope. Since he was rather intimate with the doctor, upon entering the consultation room earlier, he had been allowed to take a look through it out of curiosity. He had clearly seen under the lens, which magnified objects eight hundred and fifty times, coloured botryoidal bacilli exactly as if they had been minutely sketched. [LD, 2]

Under the lens of the author/narrator, the details greatly magnified for the benefit of our readerly gaze, we are going to observe closely Tsuda's physical (and some would say spiritual) condition and his journey on the road to recovery, such as it is. The authorial lens will also be turned on other characters too of course, focused on interpersonal relations between and among them, and held over their social milieu so as to amplify the disease and illness present there as well, whatever that might be. One difficulty with Tsuda's illness is that he cannot see it. He cannot confirm his condition with his own eyes. It is a blind spot. He must rely on the doctor's prognosis and care.

Fissure can be linked to blindness in a number of ways: Tsuda's fissure is situated in a blind spot and it is located somewhat in the vicinity of the cecum, or blind intestine, which is related to the word "cecity," or "blindness." Fissure or rupture in the text, fissure and rupture in relationships, blind spots in the text (areas, details, things that readers cannot see and cannot know), and blind spots in characters' own self-knowledge and knowledge of others all come from, all descend from, converge on, or can be traced back to, this one site on Tsuda's body: the anus.

Tsuda's inability to observe his own medical condition, means, as we have said, he must trust the words of his doctor. Worse, Tsuda is worried that he may even be tubercular.

"If I were tubercular, and you performed the operation you've just mentioned, it wouldn't heal even if you did make that narrow incision all the way to the intestine, would it?"

If you're tubercular, it's hopeless, since it won't do to treat the opening without probing deep into the fistula."

Tsuda involuntarily knit his brow.

"I wouldn't happen to be tubercular, would I?"

"No, you're not."

To determine how much truth there was in the doctor's words, he fixed his eyes on him for a moment.

"How can you know? By the routine examination?"

"Yes, I know just by looking at you." [LD, 2]

Unlike Tsuda's invisible fistula (fissure), tuberculosis instills a fear all its own besides requiring that the fissure must be probed even more deeply: that it can be seen, that it is detectable, that it is visibly written on the

body. Tsuda, after all, is a typical Sôsekian protagonist in his sharing with other major male characters the mark of being punctilious, proud, ruminative, secretive, cautious to a fault, and excessively concerned with appearances. Under the professional gaze of the doctor, Tsuda is told he is not tubercular. "I know just by looking at you," the doctor says. Thus ends the first two pages of the novel, constituting the first section. But in the remaining three hundred plus pages (a total of 188 sections or chapters, one each serialized daily in the *Asahi Shimbun*) are revealed scene after scene in which characters are subjected to a similar gaze, an objectifying gaze, a prognostic gaze, a hierarchizing gaze, just as the doctor has given Tsuda.

Tsuda has no choice but to trust the doctor's opinion whose very presence suggests probity, rectitude and veracity. "A doctor can't lie in his professional life, you know," the doctor assures Tsuda. Whom can one trust, if not a doctor? Who can be trusted? This question indeed is the unspoken interrogative that threatens to destabilize, undermine, or challenge in some way all the principal relationships in the novel: husband and wife (Tsuda and O-Nobu); brother and sister (Tsuda and O-Hide); superior and subordinate (Yoshikawa and Tsuda); friend and "foe" (Tsuda and Kobayashi).

These ideas which are front-loaded/rear-ended in the first section of *Meian*—fissure, rupture, blindness, and the gaze—will in turn be probed, analyzed, and explored in this paper. To understand and appreciate fully what Sôseki has accomplished in *Meian* (both what he has achieved and what he has not, in terms of producing a modern novel of complexity) I shall attempt to point out some salient features that characterize and resonate in both Sôseki's *Meian* and in some English novels.

Faith is a fine invention
When gentlemen can see—
But *Microscopes* are prudent
In an emergency.

—Emily Dickinson, No. 185

THE MICROSCOPIC GAZE

Upon entering the examination room, Tsuda was shown colorful, grape-like bacilli magnified 850 times under the lens of a microscope. Why he should have been shown plant pathogens instead of, say, the tubercle bacillus is puzzling. Had the doctor wanted to convince Tsuda with ocular proof, could he not have simply shown him innocuous bacilli from the site of the fissure and compared that to a prepared slide of tubercle bacilli? Instead of giving Tsuda proof that he might see with his own eyes, the doctor puts Tsuda in a position wherein the patient must simply believe and trust the opinion of the doctor. This situation of uncertainty, of not being able to see clearly and completely, of not being able to possess a sure, complete knowledge characterizes many aspects of the novel.

Ultimately, it is not the doctor who cures Tsuda but nature, or rather Tsuda will let nature run its course. The doctor, by his own medical judgment, cleans and drains the fissure and leaves it to heal naturally, instead of suturing the wound; it was deemed unnecessary at that stage to close up surgically the fissure (later Tsuda does in fact submit to surgery, but, significantly, there is no suturing of the wound). It is, however, not a scientific gaze (a mechanistic view shown by a microscope or some other instrument) but an objective, prognostic gaze, the "medical gaze" which sets Tsuda's "recovery process" in motion. The author/narrator will in turn perform the role of doctor as he aims the lens of his objectivity at the characters in the narrative to magnify their everyday concerns and relationships. Half a century before Michel Foucault began explicating his "microphysics of power"—the concept that power struggles are played out not top to bottom but from bottom to top, on a microscopic level in all relationships—Sôseki in the early decades of the twentieth century was focusing his powerful lens of observation not on the large struggles between nations, between ideologies, or between humankind and institutions (though the perceptive reader will find something of these too), but rather on the minuscule, often petty but nevertheless inescapable, tensions and conflicts that are carried out on the stage of everyday life and negotiated in everyday relationships. "At first reading this work may appear commonplace," Viglielmo writes in his "Afterword," "for it certainly cannot be denied that it treats lives and events which are ordinary in the extreme. Yet Sôseki has achieved an extraordinary work while thus utilizing the most ordinary material" (LD 381). It is Sôseki's extreme close-up on the tensions of ordinary lives which gives the novel its ring of modernity and universality.

The microscopic gaze is only one aspect of "scoping" or seeing. Every character in *Meian*, as I hope to show, is set on "scoping out" the other. The doctor turns his gaze on Tsuda, Tsuda turns his gaze on O-Nobu, who in turn has Tsuda fixed in the crosshairs of her own scopic regime, while everyone seems to be under the panoptic gaze of Mrs. Yoshikawa, a sort of Madame Merle. We shall call the disease scopophilia to cover both the active sense, voyeurism, and the passive sense, exhibitionism.

OCULAR PROOF

The presence of the microscopic lens in the examination room where Tsuda is diagnosed also signals by means of metaphorical juxtaposition the function of another powerful trope related to the act of seeing (which must be applied retrospectively, after the reader has learned of the jealousies and fear of betrayal that "agonize" the relationship between Tsuda and his wife O-Nobu), that of ocular proof. In the front-loaded opening chapter, the stage is already set for the acute ocular-centrism that defines the novel. Tsuda wants ocular proof, visible knowledge of what he cannot see (his "condition") and O-Nobu seeks visible knowledge of her husband's constancy. The *locus classicus* of ocular proof is the famous demand made by Othello on learning from Iago that his wife is not as chaste as Othello might wish to think. He demands to see with his own eyes proof that Desdemona is unfaithful to him.

O, beware, my lord, of jealousy;
It is the green-eyed monster which doth mock
The meat it feeds on; that cuckold lives in bliss
Who, certain of his fate, loves not his wronger;
But, O, what damned minutes tells he o'er
Who dotes, yet doubts, suspects, yet strongly loves!
—Iago to Othello, III. iii. Line 165

Villain, be sure thou prove my love a whore,
Be sure of it; give me the ocular proof;
Or by the worth of man's eternal soul,
Thou hadst been better have been born a dog
Than answer my waked wrath!
—Othello to Iago, III.iii. Line 359

The metaphor of ocular proof is not, most readers will agree, entirely applicable to *Meian* (even though Sôseki, as a well-read scholar of Shakespeare, makes mention of the plays, especially *Hamlet*, in his *Bungaku hyôron* and did write a haiku about each play). There is after all no real demand to test Tsuda's constancy, unless we view Mrs. Yoshikawa as a kind of Iago who wants to spur Tsuda to take some kind of action. O-Nobu wants Tsuda to love her "absolutely," which of course would leave no room for inconstancy, and she desires proof of his absolute love. O-Nobu's tragedy is that she can never be sure of Tsuda's love for her only. The significance of Shakespeare's "ocular proof" to our discussion is also in the fallacy that "seeing is knowing," that seeing something is proof of its existence or its veracity. Othello does indeed see with his own eyes what he believes to be proof that his wife is inconstant, but, tragically, he is merely being deceived by Iago's Machiavellian machinations. Othello gets the ocular proof he demands. Iago's orchestrated, staged, dramatization of Desdemona "having an affair" with Cassio is what Othello believes to be true. He believes, like the inhabitants of the cave in Plato's *Republic*, that the shadows reflected on the wall of the cave are real. Mrs. Yoshikawa successfully urges Tsuda to meet again with Kiyoko, his fiancée (someone now trusted or promised to another) before marrying O-Nobu. Mrs. Yoshikawa is the financier (her husband is Tsuda's employer), the one who provides the funds. Tsuda, who sees it as his "obligation" to comply with Mrs. Yoshikawa's arrangements, does in point of fact get the ocular proof he needs—much more than he bargained for. He sees himself in a different light (in the lower depths of the hot spring where he gets lost) and finally sees what Kiyoko really thinks of him. Even accepting the invitation to see Kiyoko again, one might assume, would "open old wounds," complicating his recovery process instead of promoting it. Ostensibly going to the hot springs for convalescence and recovery, where his fresh wound can heal, Tsuda's well-being is in fact threatened by the possibility of having an old wound reopened. Mrs. Yoshikawa's orchestration to have Tsuda and Kiyoko meet again at the hot spring is all that is needed to throw doubt on Tsuda's current marital relationship (in the eyes of O-Nobu) and potentially to destroy it, just as Iago's manipulations are enough to

convince Othello of his wife's inconstancy, to force him to destroy the thing he loves most. O-Nobu is perhaps the most tragic character in *Meian* for this very reason. She too confuses seeing with knowing. Of all the characters she is the most gifted with vision and intuition, but ironically she cannot see her own pathetic situation. Tsuda's friend and thorn-in-the-flesh Kobayashi also acts as a kind of Iago, filling her with doubts and hatred.

Anyone who has typed the letters O I C (Oh, I see) while chatting on the Internet must realize that metaphors of understanding most commonly involve "seeing." Linguists who produce lexicons and word frequency lists indicate that as high as eighty percent of the most common usage of the verb "to see" is uttered to indicate understanding/knowledge. Even though the Japanese language does not exploit the same order of metaphors for seeing=knowing, the misconception, or, more precisely, the metaphorical coherence⁴ that to see is to know still applies. To see something clearly, however, is not necessarily to understand it, as O-Nobu shows. Conversely, not to see something clearly does not necessarily mean failure to understand: Tsuda does not see or observe his medical condition "first hand" but he understands what is involved and what is required in the healing process. "To see clearly" becomes an important metaphor in the development of the novel. O-Hide "sees through" O-Nobu. Mrs. Yoshikawa, with her prodigious girth and matching powers of perception, seems to see all—except her own prodigious manipulateness and condescension. Kobayashi also seems to possess the power of discernment which he wields as a weapon against O-Nobu's sense of doubt and fear of betrayal and against Tsuda's moral complacency. Tsuda weaves a tangled web of deceit to prevent all others from seeing his true motives, which today we would call "looking out for Number One" (a telling American metaphor if ever there was one). Tsuda is quite transparent, as it turns out, since both Mrs. Yoshikawa and Kobayashi—and even Kiyoko—"see through him." Scopically challenged O-Nobu is the important exception.

Binarisms in *Meian*

"Of light and darkness mutually bound"—Viglielmo's "Afterword" (LD, 380)

akiraka ni / an ni
 light / darkness
 transparent / opaque
 clear / obscure
 lucid / occluded
 insight, sight, sighted / blind, blinded, blindness
 clairvoyance / occultation
 clairauidence / deafness
 utterable / unutterable
 éclaircissement / obfuscation
 visible / invisible
 known / unknown
 overt / covert
 opened / closed
 full / empty
 chiaro-/oscuro
 (chiaroscuro)
 white / black
 yin / yang
 female / male
 [vaginal / anal]

BINARISMS IN *MEIAN*

It is not insignificant that the title of the novel which we are examining is itself a binarism. The Chinese compound light+darkness, read *meian* in Japanese, is an overdetermined binarism under which the text is opened up to an endless play of signifiers. The term has prosaic and technical usage in addition to its literary ones, as in *meian hō*, shading (clear-obscure, chiaroscuro, clair-obscur); *meian kō*, an occulting light; *jinsei no*

meian no ryōmen, the bright and dark sides of life. By the endless binary ordering that I am suggesting above, we can see that Sōseki has created a complex system of dichotomies. But before we consider them separately we should stop to consider how binarisms have been generally used in the past and how I am using them specifically in this paper. Structuralists such as Claude Levi-Strauss worked with binarisms in their research (the raw and the cooked, for example) to indicate structures and frameworks that facilitate understanding of cultural practice. Then the post-structuralists came along and used binarisms only as a point of departure, stating that binarisms, once established and examined, need to be deconstructed and shown to be not hard and fast categories after all. More recently, culture studies and gender studies people tell us that not only are binarisms false and largely socially constructed but often even interpenetrated. It is this latter, postmodern usage in which I am particularly interested. To my mind, Sōseki's binarisms in *Meian*, though textualized in a modernist work, are most easily understood in terms of not hard and fast categories, not clear-cut polarities occurring in nature, but in terms of their interpenetration, in terms of a yin-yang process.

Sōseki describes such a yin-yang harmony in sections 75 and 76. O-Nobu's uncle, quoting Fujii, instructs her that "If men and women aren't eternally chasing after each other, they can't become complete human beings. In other words, there's something lacking in each of them and they can't possibly get it by themselves." The truth of this statement she admitted to herself. Her happiness/love as a wife was not possible without the happiness/love of her husband. It was the opposite, yin-yang discord, that bothered her. "But we're not a case of yin-yang discord," she lies to her uncle, "We're really in complete harmony, I tell you." Ultimately, though, she does accept the fact that a yin-yang discord is better than nothing, when she and Tsuda arrive at a "compromise." Disequilibrium will prevail. It is the best they can hope for, under the circumstances.

In general terms, binarisms bring into stark relief the relationships between characters and their distinguishing attributes: Mrs. Yoshikawa's physical fullness compared to Tsuda's spiritual emptiness; her covert operations (and O-Nobu's as well), compared to, say, Kobayashi's or O-Hide's overt, open, articulate mission to change Tsuda; O-Nobu's much admired clairvoyance (which unfortunately seems to short-circuit when she needs it most), compared to Tsuda's blindness to the needs of others; the unutterable situation of Tsuda's parents in Kyoto (money matters), compared to the utterable, pronounced cure (*myōyaku*) that O-Nobu's uncle offers (a cheque); the clearness and transparency of O-Nobu's motives, compared to the opacity, obscurity, and darkness of Tsuda's; and many others.

In what appears to be a postmodern rendering, binarisms are established in *Meian*, aspects of characters are realized, narrative expectations are set up, and then without warning, the author/narrator pulls the rug out from under the reader by revealing different aspects, even polar opposites to what was anticipated or already established. O-Hide appears to be the voice of propriety and moral rectitude but the next day appears as a somewhat shrewish, judgmental woman who delights in casuistry. Kobayashi also appears to have no personal motives for browbeating Tsuda but who nonetheless comes across as being in a privileged position, of smugness, while being an outcast of sorts at the same time. Both O-Hide and Kobayashi, in my opinion, graduated from the same Jesuit school of Take The High Moral Position, the former from a familial platform, the latter from a social one. Binarisms are set up and then collapsed, established, then inverted and toyed with.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil,
and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*

UBI EST MORBUS?

Where is the disease? *Ubi est morbus* is the founding precept of Giovanni Battista Morgagni, Paduan anatomist and founder of the science of autopsy. His motto appears on plaques in autopsy rooms around the world: *Hic est locus ubi mores gaudet succurso vitae*—"This is the place where death rejoices to come to the aid of life."⁵ What is clearly needed in *Meian* is not an autopsy, obviously, since no death occurs in the novel (except the death of Kiyoko's and Seki's child, which is mentioned but not described), but rather a biopsy—the modern novel as biopsy. As already mentioned, Sōseki uses his own journal entries which he kept during his hemorrhoid operation to describe Tsuda's medical experience. There is another example of Sōseki's linking the anus with morbidity or death in an earlier novel, *To The Spring Equinox and Beyond* (*Higan Sugi Made*, 1912). The narrator describes the body of his dead child, turning the dead infant over to inspect the anus. The anus is

indeed dilated, a sure sign of death. Sôseki's two-year old daughter had died suddenly in 1911, and his medical journal once again provided the reference material. The scene, which resonates with the examination room scene of *Meian*, is morbid and bizarre for its clinical aspect, and the medical gaze with which the father regards his own offspring. There is no emotion or sentiment in the father (who resembles Tsuda in this regard), yet the scene is all the more emotional for its lack of affectivity.

Beginning a narrative with disease or deploying illness as metaphor as a means of achieving narrative cohesiveness is not an unusual practice in literature. At the beginning of *Oedipus Rex*, the city of Thebes is stricken by a plague. The killer of King Laius must be found and order restored for the curse of the plague to be lifted. Seven women and three men pass the time during the plague of Florence telling each other one hundred tales in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Daniel Defoe (on whom Sôseki writes a chapter in his *Bungaku hyôron*) describes narrator H. F.'s anxiety over the London plague, who vacillates between staying and fleeing the city, in his *A Journal of the Plague Year*. Camus says in his novel *The Plague*: "What's true of all the evils in the world is true of the plague as well, it helps men to rise above themselves" (all these examples are catalogued in Susan Sontag's *Illness as Metaphor*). Sôseki's Tsuda unfortunately, cannot manage to rise above himself. At the end of the novel, for the most part he still cannot open his mouth without lying, cannot open his eyes without doubting, cannot think of anything but himself and his appearance in the eyes of others. Trying to make sense of illness, as we know in our own time of epidemics, can function as a kind of ordering device. The self creates its own order, as Susan Sontag writes in *AIDS and Its Metaphors*:

Thinking of syphilis as a punishment for an individual's transgression was for a long time, virtually until the disease became easily curable, not really distinct from regarding it as retribution for the licentiousness of a community—as with AIDS now, in the rich industrial countries. In contrast to cancer, understood in a modern way as a disease incurred by (and revealing of) individuals, AIDS is understood in a premodern way, as a disease incurred by people both as individuals and as members of a "risk group"—that neutral-sounding bureaucratic category which also revives the archaic idea of a tainted community that illness has judged.⁶

Tsuda's illness is curable and we see no evidence of social stigma attached to his "embarrassing" condition (though never termed that), and it does not seem to cause him any actual embarrassment at all. In fact, he drinks his castor oil while his relatives are having dinner (look at me! he seems to be saying) and must be satisfied with only nibbling on bread—all this in preparation for his important operation. His condition is understood in a modern way: it is not God's punishment for sinning or wrongdoing; it is not retributive or judgmental. Yet Tsuda is being judged by his family and friends. Onto his physical ailment, about which no one in the novel has anything to say directly, save for the doctor, is superimposed his spiritual condition whose cure seems to be *everybody's* business (and surely aspects of social illness/degeneration are just as important as a metaphorical spiritual degeneration or spiritual malaise). In Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* (1912), Aschenbach's personal decline in health and eventual death are transferred onto Venice, a city itself long in decline, in fact, long moribund. Venice is also an important setting in Henry James's *Wings of the Dove* (1902) for this same reason; it is a direct allusion to Ruskin's vision of Venice as "a mythic locus of the aspirations and decline of Western culture." Tsuda's health is, by comparison, not a personal affair but rather a public one, in which family, friends and acquaintances enter and exit in various degrees of meddlesomeness, self-indulgent intrusion. His disease is not transferred upon the state, indicating a national malaise (or is it?), or a state in decline. Neither is illness, death, or shame writ large in cosmic terms like Dimmesdale's projection of his guilt into a giant letter A composed of stars in the night sky; it is not gothic like the demise of everyone in attendance at the ball in the *Mask of Red Death*; it is not sentimental like the death of Little Nell. More than being a structuring device in the novel, Tsuda's illness, his anal fissure, is emblematic of all the ruptures of modern life which simply must be tolerated and lived with.

The delicious irony of Kiyoko's query in the final section: "*Sore de anata mo doko ka owarui no?*" ("Does that mean you've been ill too?") is that she has no knowledge of Tsuda's illness and he has no knowledge of the details of her miscarriage other than the fact that she is recuperating from one (unless Mrs. Yoshikawa has told him more—but this is not made clear to the reader). It is Sôsekian irony at its best: words that stand out in capital letters and force the reader to reconsider everything that has gone before. The textual question is the one posed by Susan Sontag in her book *AIDS and Its Metaphors*: is the plague as depicted by Defoe, by Manzoni, and even by Camus, a transforming experience? No, it is "an exemplary event," she says, "the irruption of death that gives life its seriousness." And we then must ask, is Tsuda's malady a transforming experience for him?

Certainly he is made to think about life and finally in the end able to see the light of humanity in others, but there is no clear indication that he has changed dramatically or completely. There is no irruption of death in *Meian*. The movement toward recovery, such as it is, is not smooth or swift; it is painstakingly slow (although the narrative spans less than two weeks). To my mind, Tsuda's recovery must be an on-going process, like, say, Alcoholics Anonymous: one day at a time, carried out continuously, unflaggingly. Even if at some point in the future Tsuda's anal fissure does heal or "close up" there is no indication in the novel that the ruptures and fissures in interpersonal relationships will ever find real closure.

Regardless of whether Tsuda's illness is a transforming experience or not, one thing, however, is clear: illness is the ordering device in the narrative of the novel. Tsuda's illness brings everyone together, united against him, as it were. His condition during the one-week stay on the second floor of the clinic is indicative of Tsuda's general malaise and, by extension, of the Sôsekian weakling, specifically Ichirô, the protagonist of *The Wayfarer* (Kôjin, 1913) whom he most resembles. For Ichirô there is no easy solution to the dilemma of modern life but "To die, to go mad, or to enter religion—these are the only three courses left open to me" (196). Unfortunately for Tsuda, he lacks the intellectual powers of Ichirô to consider these options. He is flat on his back in a hospital bed, immobilized, dependent on others, passive, reactive not proactive, acted upon, the center of action but not an agent of action. Rather than the Sôsekian "crouch" which is said to characterize his male protagonists, the male body in bed much more eloquently and more ironically represents metaphorically the male condition in his novels: incapacitated, invalid (accent on first syllable) and invalidated.

Money matters, the cash necessity, *ano koto* ("that thing") is the plague that imperils all relationships in *Meian* and indeed all male characters throughout Sôseki's works. As in the novels of Henry James, money is not referred to directly in polite society, yet it is always present. Money is the *myôyaku*, the cure-all for life's troubles—at least that is how Okamoto presents it as he waves a check in O-Nobu's face. Although the *myôyaku* scene is presented ironically, money is at once the disease and the cure. It is homeopathic medicine. It could provide Tsuda and O-Nobu with the independence they desire, and it simultaneously binds them to a tighter social and family nexus. As a novelistic device, disease presents the opportunity to recover, to be cared for, or to show care and solicitude toward the patient. Three female characters converge at Tsuda's sickbed (individually and in ensemble appearances) ostensibly for *mimai*, to pay a courtesy visit, yet in reality it is not an expression of love that is exhibited but largely their own self-interest. The word "solicitous" nicely sums up their behavior. No homeostasis is achieved, except perhaps between Tsuda and O-Nobu, who have worked out a compromise and have decided that stasis is better than constant doubting and badgering.

"THE TERRORISM OF THE GAZE."

The terrorism of the gaze is Michael Moon's phrase for describing how vision functions in Henry James's novel *The Wings of the Dove*. He argues that gazing between Kate and Merton "turns out to be part of the system of sexual-domination-by-visual-terrorism which to a large degree governs relations between the sexes and classes as they are represented in this novel."⁷ For a book such as *Meian* too, in which glances play a significant role and are found on virtually every page of the text—making it a Book of Glances of sorts—the terrorism of the gaze is especially apt for defining relations between Tsuda and O-Nobu as well. As in *Wings*, it is the women not the men who possess powerful gazes (and women in both *Wings* and *Meian* are in ascendancy while the male protagonist is in eclipse).⁸ In the West the gaze has been defined as a male domain, as in the phrase "the objectifying male gaze," which is turned on women. In *Meian* we first encounter the gaze (after the medical gaze of the examination room), appropriately enough, in the theatre scene, described in sections 47 and 48 in particular (and reminiscent of an Oscar Wilde play). O-Nobu discovers that she is the target of Mrs. Yoshikawa's gaze and she does not like the feeling of being watched from a distance. But later she and Tsugiko playfully imitate Mrs. Yoshikawa's use of opera glasses. "That was quite brazen of her, I suppose," Tsugiko remarked, "But that's the Western way, Father says." Sôseki has imported the Western gaze into his novel. "You mean to say in Europe and America it doesn't matter if you do that?" O-Nobu asks, "Then it's all right for me to stare at her that way too, I suppose. I wonder whether I should try it." To which Tsugiko replies, "Go right ahead. She'd probably like it, and say you're very smart and stylish." Mrs. Yoshikawa can terrorize O-Nobu with her gaze but O-Nobu's gaze, on the other hand, would merely be taken as a stylish gesture. O-Nobu is just learning to use her gaze, but, as we shall see, she is a quick learner. Soon she will be shooting lightning bolts at Kobayashi ("A streak of lightning flashed directly from her narrow eyes") and hate beams at Tsuda. O-Nobu finds out later that she was in fact invited to the theatre and the dinner party for the hosts to obtain her

opinion of Tsugiko's suitor, but this important detail had slipped her attention (not a good sign). With Mrs. Yoshikawa as a model, O-Nobu can hope to harness the gaze for her own purposes, subjugating her husband to her will. Her aunt and uncle already believe her to possess psychic powers. "You do seem somehow to have some psychic power," they praise her, "That's why everybody wants to ask your opinion." (LD 114) But they tease her that their "prophet" is losing her intuitive powers. "Since I've been married it's gradually been worn away," she explains. "Recently I've not only not had second sight, I've not even had first sight." (LD 115) O-Nobu, the one who should *noboru* and make pronouncements, our oracle of Delphi, cannot deliver the goods at will. "In front of Tsugiko she professed herself to be one of those few fortunate persons who have been able to receive happiness from God by having had complete clarity of foresight." (LD 118) O-Nobu begins to feel victimized, as she is unable to live up to others' expectations toward her ocular talents. Later when Tsugiko asks why O-Nobu did not use her special psychic powers, she confesses her inability to summon them: "It isn't that I *didn't* use them; it's that I *couldn't* use them." (emphasis in English translation, LD 129)

THE NORMALIZING GAZE

Mrs. Yoshikawa, society matron, woman of girth, meddler, and self-appointed director of all interpersonal relations within her possible grasp and domain, turns her formidable powers towards controlling Tsuda's amatory relations, which is tantamount to controlling not only Tsuda's sex life but his entire public and private life. He is already in the employ of Mr. Yoshikawa, on whom he depends for his economic livelihood, and therefore in a position from which Mrs. Yoshikawa can easily extricate him (by arranging for his leave of absence) and then dispatch him to the hot spring rendezvous she herself has orchestrated—all travel expenses paid. It is not enough that Mrs. Yoshikawa has the power to make people do her bidding; she seeks control over others which extends all the way to a person's sexual identity. "Be a man" is her mantra to transform and transfix Tsuda to her vision of masculinity. She seeks to shape Tsuda's masculinity to her own ideals. And from where exactly does her authority come, we must ask. By virtue of her class and social status, she stands in a position not only to manipulate others but, worse, to have them conform to her own standards; and her own vision of appropriateness and correctness become the standard, the norm. Today we recognize in Sôseki's Mrs. Yoshikawa the "normalizing judgment" of the dominant/dominating class. Why does Mrs. Yoshikawa seek power over others? Because she *can*. Today we clearly see in Mrs. Yoshikawa the voice of, say, "save traditional marriage," which seeks to impose the values and practices of the sexual majority onto all others. What the masculine Mrs. Yoshikawa means by her incessant repetition of "be a man" is actually "be like me": decisive, in charge, in control—precisely the attributes which Tsuda lacks. The greatest irony of all is that Mrs. Yoshikawa's intentions are good. "Since she was absolutely convinced that all of her activity in meddling in other people's affairs was an expression of her kindness and goodwill and that there was not a particle of selfishness in it, she could not be expected to have any misgivings about it." It is only "natural" and "self-evident" that her meddling (I prefer the words "manipulation" and "machination") is to help others. In doing so, the status quo is maintained, the Yoshikawas' own power and authority by virtue of their class and social status are inculcated, reinforced and renewed.

Who sets the norm? That is the question Sôseki poses by having O-Nobu, O-Hide, Kobayashi and Mrs. Yoshikawa one by one turn their normalizing gazes on Tsuda. O-Nobu wants to make Tsuda conform to her own image of a loyal husband; O-Hide wants Tsuda to conform to her own image of the filial brother and respectful son; Kobayashi, of all people, himself outside the norm, expects Tsuda to conform to his image of good friend and good husband to O-Nobu; Mrs. Yoshikawa aims to have Tsuda conform to her ideals of masculinity and dutiful husband. Each seeks power over Tsuda to have him conform to his or her image of "correctness." Each seeks to peg Tsuda in a narrowly conceived "role" instead of addressing him as an individual, and Tsuda successfully kicks against this oppression, refusing to conform (his one "heroic" gesture in my opinion which other critics are perhaps prone to see only as his fatal flaw). Each character seeks to impose his or her ego on Tsuda, demanding that he reduce his own hyperplastic ego to theirs, an egotistical mission in and of itself. Japanese critics in particular have been quick to point out the centrality of Tsuda's egoism, reducing the agon of the novel to a narrative of egoism and selfishness—an approach that resonates most within a country in which nonconformity is scorned and degraded. Such a reductionist view, however, occludes the more basic, essential narrative of power over the other, and occults the power struggles evident in everyday interpersonal relationships. In the balance sheet of *Meian*, the tally sheet of who wins and who loses, it is Tsuda, in my opinion, who wins out above all others by refusing to bend to pressure from outside himself: his refusal to change is his victory (though a hollow victory perhaps, since he remains miserable). Through the

lens of my own cultural experience—as an American for whom egoism (or more properly, aggressiveness and assertiveness) is *a priori* a survival skill, the sine qua non of getting ahead—Tsuda might appear a hero, unbending in the face of adversity, unyielding to the egos of others, like Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* (1882): “the strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone!” To Japanese critics, Tsuda is egotistical and willful. Future generations of Japanese students, I predict (to use my own *senrigan* or powers of clairvoyance) perhaps will look at the struggle of wills and egos as quaint and charming, very much in the same way we read Jane Austen today. But what of the emblematic fissure? Where is the disease? In Tsuda's body? In society? In modern life in general? Is Tsuda the embodiment of Japan's national polity, the *kokutai*, the body politic, that can only respond to *gaiatsu*, to external pressure and outside forces, that is incapable of change from within? Could Sôseki be projecting the condition of the sick body, Tsuda's illness, onto the nation as a whole, onto the *kokutai*, the body politic? Is Sôseki describing not a personal illness, not an individual case study, but a social malady in general from which all of Meiji Japan suffers? These questions, I hope to show, are not beyond the bounds of Sôseki's far-reaching social commentary.

Ultimately, not one of the relationships described above ends satisfactorily, in the sense of reconciliation or “coming to a mutual understanding.” Tsuda and O-Nobu reach a “compromise,” actually more of a stalemate, in which neither party gains an advantage nor sacrifices ground to the other. Tsuda might appear to be a hero in that he does not buckle under to people who seek to control him, yet he is tragic in suffering the sin of hubris (that alone would be enough to bring about his downfall in Greek drama) and it is this pride which denies him any acts of heroism. Far from being a hero, he is modern man who must continually seek to maintain his own ground, always to redefine that ground and thereby forever plagued with the threat of being insubstantial and inauthentic.

*Surgeons must be careful
When they take the knife!
Underneath their fine incisions
Stirs the culprit—Life!*

—Emily Dickinson, No. 108

TSUDA'S ANUS AND KIYOKO'S VAGINA

There is one obvious false binarism in my list (if indeed, they are not *all* false binarism as postmodern critics would have it)—vaginal/anal. Normally, binary thinking about the sexes would be represented by phallic/ynic or penis/vagina but Sôseki has established a polarity between Tsuda and Kiyoko along the lines of disease not genitalia. The condition of *ana*, or *fissure* has brought them together for the second time. Mrs. Yoshikawa has arranged for Tsuda to meet Kiyoko at a hot spring. They are both brought together and kept apart by their ruptured condition. The two were in fact previously brought together (before the story begins) as a possible love match by none other than Mrs. Yoshikawa herself. Now Kiyoko has married and has had an abortion. A few critics have suggested that her husband, Seki, has transmitted a sexual disease to her (a conclusion drawn from the chance meeting between Tsuda and Seki at a clinic, described in Section 17). The details of Kiyoko's miscarriage are not given. “When she [Mrs. Yoshikawa] told him that Kiyoko had gone there primarily to recover from a miscarriage, she looked at Tsuda and smiled knowingly.” Even accepting the critics' view of miscarriage, it is still not absolutely clear whether it is a self-induced abortion (out of fear that the baby too will be infected) or a spontaneous abortion, a “natural” miscarriage. Whichever the case, Kiyoko is going to a nearby hot spring to recuperate after the miscarriage, where, if Mrs. Yoshikawa's plans are successful, Tsuda will have the possibility of meeting her. We can assume that she has undergone a dilatation and curettage of some sort, what is commonly referred to as a D&C (dusting and cleaning in the colloquial), which is medically explained as “a minor operation in which the cervix is expanded enough (dilatation) to permit the cervical canal and uterine lining to be scraped with a spoon-shaped instrument called a curette (curettage).” Tsuda's anal fissure, we recall, has also been scraped clean to allow it to drain properly (*gari gari kiyoroshite* is the phrase used, and the verb *orosu* in Japanese commonly means to abort). Tsuda and Kiyoko, both having been scraped clean, will converge at the hot spring to seek its healing waters. We do not know what kind of relationship Kiyoko has had with her husband Seki, whether it is happy or strained, fulfilling or debilitating. We are denied details about her marriage, her miscarriage, her present condition. Kiyoko as a character is largely a blind spot. How can a character which seems to be so important to the protagonist's “healing process” and the development of the novel as a whole, be so sketchily depicted, so ambiguously and

nebulously drawn? And why? The reader does not meet her until section 176 (out of 188) and can only judge her by her appearance in these final twelve installments. Far from the beatific, blessed, Beatrice-like image that is often projected on her (an image Viglielmo himself has promoted), Kiyoko is to my mind defiled and empty, childless (as are Tsuda and O-Nobu), and alone (her husband does not have the *yoyû*, the luxury, to travel with her). The presence of the active Yokohama couple at the same hot spring brings into relief the separateness and passivity of Tsuda and Kiyoko. Her condition is indicative of lack, of blankness. Her smile, that much-discussed enigmatic smile which constitutes the closing line of the novel (the last words Sôseki was to write) might very well be a simple, conventional smile. The smile itself is not modified, although smiles and looks are modified in a myriad of ways throughout the novel—bitter (*kushô*), beautiful, nervous, painful, and sneering (*reishô*)—Kiyoko's smile is simply described as *bishô*, a smile without modifiers:

Kiyoko smiled as she said this. Tsuda returned to his own room, while trying to explain to himself the meaning of her smile (LD 375).

UNFINISHED

Since in *Meian* it is not the protagonist who dies, like Aschenbach in *Death in Venice*, like Milly in *Wings*, like Dorian in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, but rather the author, we have a perfect ending: an open text which defies closure; future generations can speculate endlessly on possible outcomes. By dying, Sôseki has created the ultimate postmodern masterpiece.

FISSURE, RUPTURE, GAP

Some fissures, ruptures, and gaps are textual, some are physical, others metaphysical. The death of Milly Theale in *Wings* creates a textual lacuna in the last third of the book; there is no account of the final weeks of her life. This is not a new device. The same thing happens in *The Tale of Genji*. Genji is fifty-two in the "Wizard" chapter and in the next, "Niou Miya," nine years have passed since his death, which takes place outside the text. There is only a heading *Kumogakure* (Light Behind the Clouds) with no text. It is a different story, however, when the author plays with these gaps in a methodical, systematic fashion. Hugh Stevens refers to the "representational voids" in *Wings*, saying "To read *The Wings of the Dove* several times is to stumble, repeatedly, against prominent gaps in the text . . . The incompleteness of narrative places the critic in a role analogous to that of each character, attempting to fill gaps in the stories they encounter." In *Meian*, Tsuda's fissure (physical) is analogous to the interpersonal rupture (spiritual, emotional) which plagues the principal relationships between and among the protagonist and his surrounding cast of characters. The problematical metaphysical rupture, about which some critics will not speak, is Tsuda's disengagement from a spontaneous, unmediated life experience. In spite of his many interior moments, his introspection and weighing out of every act in the scales of his mind, Tsuda still cannot see his own condition as being one of rupture. He cannot complete the First Step, of initially recognizing and admitting the problem, by saying, as it were, "I am Tsuda Yoshio and I am an alcoholic." As for more literal representations of fissures and gaps, I suggest we look at Kiyoko as something of an enigma, as herself being a gap in the text, somewhat like Milly's death in *Wings*. Kiyoko is mentioned indirectly only as *ano onna* (that woman) at the beginning of the novel and finally appears at the "conclusion." She is absent everywhere in between, but nonetheless still lurks in the minds of Tsuda and O-Nobu—and even Mrs. Yoshikawa and Kobayashi. But Kiyoko remains a cipher, like Madonna in *Botchan* and other women in Sôseki whose epiphanies border on the ethereal and mysterious.

O-Nobu relished the rupture between Tsuda and O-Hide (O-Nobu laughs behind O-Hide's back "derisively"). This rupture with O-Hide, which could only be termed an unforeseen event, was, in effect, the dawn of rebirth for her." (LD 207) O-Nobu sees her chance to get directly at Tsuda and perhaps seeks to drive a wedge deeper between the brother and sister. Battle lines are clearly drawn up. Opponents are sized up in the ring. Battle metaphors abound in *Meian* (of which 495 terms of conflict and negativity have been identified and analyzed by Nakayama Etsuko) as they do in *Wings of the Dove*. Family relations are precarious. Tsuda thinks that "even if they did not have a reconciliation after the present incident, so long as they did not hope for a complete rupture, relations between the two families were certain to be resumed under some form or other." (LD 211) Another gap in *Meian* is one between thought and action which besets O-Nobu and Tsuda in particular. "O-Nobu sensed a very large gap between what she was feeling and what she could say. Furthermore, since she thought she had to close that gap as much as possible and show herself to others as a

woman who had a husband without a single flaw, she could not reveal to her uncle anything of what she really felt." (LD 109) Tsuda, typical of most Sôsekiian males, will never be able to close that gap between thought and action because it is endlessly negotiated and rationalized. There is a similar gap in Kobayashi's character, who, in his knowledge of the world, his fondness for distinctions, his microscopic observation of life's little tyrannies, is more like Tsuda than unlike him in his desire to go his own way, I feel, despite his role as a foil and a fall guy. He is a writer, like Kate and Merton in *Wings*, like Aschenbach in *Death in Venice*, whose own aesthetic experience creates the rhetorical flourishes of the novel (the conversation with Tsuda about Dostoevsky in the restaurant scene, for example) and the "literary" or "readerly" environment which each one inhabits. Kobayashi is an editor and speaks a sort of Dostoevskian rhetoric—a gesture which further widens the gap between him and Tsuda.

According to Mary Cross, "James develops in *Wings of the Dove* . . . a context of lying, a space for fiction that interrogates its constructions and where indeterminacy becomes functional in the story. Opening up and exploiting its gaps, the text deliberately makes room for various 'versions' to flourish."⁹ This technique, I believe, is what Sôseki has achieved in *Meian*. Within this context of lying, characters are rendered ambivalent, their true motives hidden (why is Mrs. Yoshikawa bent on sending Tsuda to the hot spring rendezvous?); their pasts concealed (why is O-Nobu brought up by the Okamotos? What is Kobayashi's past relationship with Tsuda?); their futures uncertain (what will become of Tsugiko? Does O-Nobu accept the "compromise" without reservation or will she remain like Ôgai's Otama, *actively* resigned to her fate? Or will Mrs. Yoshikawa "cure" her?). The readerly experience of these gaps—gapology—also contributes to the novel's modernist sensibility.

BLINDNESS

In my criticism of *Meian*, I may be guilty of saying something that the work does not say, but as Paul de Man has pointed out, this is perhaps inevitable. Worse, I am probably guilty of saying things even I don't mean to say. ("Our readings have revealed," de Man writes, "even more than this: not only does the critic say something that the work does not say, but he even says something that he himself does not mean to say.")

And since interpretation is nothing but the possibility of error, by claiming that a certain degree of blindness is part of the specificity of literature we also affirm the absolute dependence of the interpretation on the text and of the text on the interpretation.¹⁰

Many critics are uncomfortable with this relationship of dependence between text and interpretation, but for me as a *Meian* reader, it is the blindness of the text that makes me engage with it, that exhilarates, irritates, fatigues, makes me think. We as readers are being written upon just like Milly in *Wings* and Tsuda in *Meian*. Both Kate and Densher in *Wings* are writers, who write on or textualize the blank slate of Milly—everyone in the novel seems to want to imprint or impress his or her own will upon her. Tsuda, as I conceive of him, is also a tabula rasa upon which all others seek to inscribe their morality and their way of seeing (or to put it another way, their blindness: their way of not being able to see). The irony of a character who is blinded to acquiring self-knowledge is that we feel that we know them better than they know themselves because we "see" more than they do in the narrative of their lives.

We cannot know Kiyoko, for example, because the author has blocked out our having a complete, unobstructed view of her. Perhaps she does not understand herself, her marriage, her miscarriage and she has decided to make the hot spring trip to sort things out (we can only guess). Neither Tsuda nor Kiyoko can see into their medical conditions, as one might examine, say, a cut finger. Kiyoko cannot see into her vagina just as Tsuda cannot see into his anus. There is a blind spot that prevents their acquiring complete or certain knowledge. Nor can they ever see themselves fully in the mirror of the other because that mirror itself is dark and occluded or their own gaze is turned inward, away from the mirror. Tsuda may have thought he knew Kiyoko but after sharing a few moments together at the hot spring he is forced to realize that he was laboring under a misapprehension: Kiyoko no longer cares for him. O-Nobu, on the other hand, is blinded by self-doubt and sucked into the hierarchical power of Mrs. Yoshikawa, whom she inwardly desires to emulate. Everyone seems to think they know Tsuda better than he knows himself (as we readers too perhaps do)—which is a big assumption to make. As one who thinks more about himself than others, Tsuda should then have greater self-knowledge than they have. Like Hamlet who is clever enough to feign madness, Tsuda is headstrong and

duplicitous enough to get what he wants, to have things his way (but he does not get, however, a reconciliation with Kiyoko).

In Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Years*, there is no obtainable knowledge of the plague, nothing is certain; sure knowledge is ungraspable. Since certain knowledge cannot be grasped, superstition and the supernatural take its place. Tsugiko's situation in *Meian* encapsulates many of the problems of knowing. How can an uncertain future be known (her own, in this case)?; how can a person's character be judged (Miyoshi, Tsugiko's suitor, in this case)? Knowledge is outside her grasp and even O-Nobu's extrasensory powers cannot help her see the future, so she must turn to divine oracle, the fortune-teller's box, for an answer. "'Knowledge' during and at the very beginning of the plague (in Defoe's journal) either does not exist or is extrasensory—as in the many cases of predictions made by fortune-tellers and astrologers, and the interpretations of signs and dreams."¹¹ Tsuda's situation is no different. Uncertainty plagues his condition. When and if his condition improves (when the plague is "lifted") perhaps sure knowledge will be his, including a surer knowledge of himself. But we do not know this for sure. We cannot know, as accessories to the narrative, whether this is even possible because from the beginning to the end of the narrative we know Tsuda only as a man stricken by disease (albeit, ostensibly convalescing); we do not know him in any other state or condition. We do not know him in an "un-diseased" state (except perhaps through O-Nobu's eyes before marriage). I have trouble visualizing him as "whole," "centered," and "robust." Even if by outward appearance, he seemed "normal" or even handsome, as we learn at the hot spring visit. But deep inside he harbors secrets and mistrust, the mark that all Sôseki protagonists bear.

Howard Hibbett quotes from Dostoevsky's *The Underground* to shed light on the secrets that are at the heart of every Sôseki novel. In the Dostoevskian scheme of things (in descending hierarchy from open to closed, clear to dark, there are secrets revealed 1) only to friends; 2) only to oneself; and 3) not even to oneself:

In every man's memory there are things which he does not reveal to everyone, but only to his friends. There are also things which he does not reveal to his friends, but at best to himself and under a pledge of secrecy. And finally there are things which man hesitates to reveal even to himself, and every decent person accumulates a considerable quantity of such things. In fact, you might say the more decent a person is, the greater the number of such things that he carries around with him.¹²

Hibbett suggests that the protagonist Sensei in Sôseki's *Kokoro* (1914), basically a decent man, harbors many secrets. Tsuda too belongs to category No. 3. But, like Sensei in *Kokoro*, Sôseki died with Tsuda's secrets unrevealed. Secrets, false leads (who is that foreigner anyway, mentioned only at the beginning of *Kokoro*?), ambiguous information, conflicting information all combine to create blind spots in Sôseki's texts. The egotism of the characters in *Meian* is seen frequently as the source of their blindness. Love is blind, but so is egotism—it is a blind and blinding force. Janet Walker describes *Meian* as "depict[ing] a married couple who suffer from the fact that they are enmeshed in a legal and therefore unfree bond, and here the emphasis of his scrutiny is the blind egotism of the characters and the power that each, in his blindness, desires over the other."¹³ What exactly is the relationship between blind egotism and power over others that each seeks? We do not know for sure. In my view, egotism is merely one aspect, one symptom, of a larger more pervasive blindness.

One of the most serious, disturbing blind spots in *Meian* might belong to the author himself. I refer to Sôseki's blindness to the (his own) imperialism and racism of Japan in its "monopolistic capitalism" and "empire-building" stage as persuasively presented by James Fujii in his article called "Writing Out Asia: Modernity, Canon, and Natsume Sôseki's *Kokoro*." Fujii juxtaposes Sôseki's travelogue, *Man-Kan tokorodokoro* with *Kokoro* to demonstrate Sôseki's blindness (or "silence," or "amnesia") regarding Japan's involvement in Asia. "What Sôseki's prose fiction (including *Kokoro*) demonstrates," he says, "is a blindness to the connection between Japan's experience of modernity, about which he felt tremendous ambivalence, and to Japan's extraterritorial activities."¹⁴ Even the delightful but irritating presence of trickster Kobayashi in *Meian* indicates Sôseki's blindness to the character's trip to Korea and its important implications. Kobayashi, an ideologue, has nothing to say—good, bad or otherwise—about the significance or propriety of his forthcoming trip to Korea.

THE UTOPIAN VOICE IN *MEIAN*

For all the scintillating dialogue in *Meian*, no one really communicates; language alone is not capable of getting through to another person it would seem. People talk *at* each other not *to* each other. For this reason, one must question Fredric Jameson's vision of the utopian in Sôseki. Certainly Sôseki's writing contains a critique of the status quo and is utopian in the sense of "aiming to overcome social inequality, economic exploitation, sexual repression, and other possible forms of domination that make well-being and happiness in this life impossible" (as defined in the *Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*). That is to say, *Meian* is concerned with depicting forms of inequality and domination, though it does not actively seek to overcome them—except perhaps in the voice of Kobayashi only. It is not concerned with identifying fantastic, unrealistic speculation (the pejorative meaning of utopian, a *no-place*). In fact, Sôseki presents no social alternative whatsoever. I agree instead with philosopher Foucault's definition that there can be no utopia, in that modern society is a dystopia of all-pervasive power relations. The world of *Meian* is dystopic. The family drama played out is one of disfunction. All characters, but particularly Tsuda and O-Nobu, are *toujours déjà* caught up in their unequal relations of power, in social inequality, economic repression and other forms of domination that make well-being and happiness in their lives if not impossible then extremely difficult.

For all his faults, Kobayashi (whom I find morally repugnant because he participates in the same terrorism—terrorizing O-Nobu and Tsuda—which he seeks to renounce), is undeniably the utopian voice of *Meian* and his unique appearance in the novel sets it off as a true original; he is not found in the literary works of Sôseki's contemporaries such as Henry James or Marcel Proust. Kobayashi's very presence signals social inequality and class distinction, yet he is not beyond using Tsuda for his own personal gain. He is a necessary challenge to Mrs. Yoshikawa's class and power, the thorn in the flesh to O-Nobu and Tsuda, in short, Sôseki's balance in the yin-yang process at work in the world of *Meian*. Without him, the novel would lack a full spectrum of the hierarchical structure from the *embourgeoisement* of the Yoshikawas to the disenfranchisement of Kobayashi.

. . . No it is impossible; it is impossible to convey the life-sensation of any given epoch of one's existence—that which makes it truth, its meaning—its subtle and penetrating essence. It is impossible. We live, as we dream—alone.

—Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*

SOME CONCLUSIONS

What is wrong with Tsuda? Is his illness a disease of being "incapable of love" (as is suggested on the inside cover of the English translation)? Milly Theale's doctor in *Wings* advises a love affair as a cure for her tuberculosis. Is Mrs. Yoshikawa unwittingly doing the same thing in sending Tsuda to the hot-spring rendezvous with Kiyoko—to cure him with a love affair? Is disease a metaphor for sexuality? In a novel as complex as *Meian*, any number of interpretations and linkages would seem possible. And is the illness of the mind or of the body? *Both* would seem the answer: for Milly and for Tsuda. In keeping with the image of the languishing heroine dying tragically of a secret illness à la *La Dame aux Camélias*, Tsuda too is feminized: immobilized, in a state of being rather than becoming. Tsuda does seem to fit Susan Sontag's description of the tubercular personality type, "melancholy, sensitive, creative, a being apart" (even though he is not in fact tubercular and certainly not creative, except in his deceptiveness). Deploying disease as a metaphor for sexuality gives an author a way of discussing sexuality indirectly. There is no sex in *Meian* but there is sexuality. Tsuda's love and sexuality are on the "hiding and lying side," as James describes his own dilemma in presenting Milly's death after her having sex with Merton. Representing such vulgarity would be ugly but resorting to "hiding and lying" would be ugly too. James comes out ahead by making the ugly beautiful. Tsuda's condition, on the other hand, is not pretty (neither the physical nor the spiritual aspects of his illness), yet Sôseki does not attempt to beautify it. Neither is there the fatal attraction between Thanatos and Eros that we find in later Japanese works such as Kawabata and Mishima. As we have said, there is no death in *Meian*, only disease. Tsuda's fate is much worse than death: until his dying day he must continue the Sisyphean task of being his own physician. No one can cure him—not the doctor, not O-Nobu or O-Hide, not Kobayashi or Mrs. Yoshikawa, not Kiyoko and not even Nature. He must cure himself. Assuming, of course, he sincerely wants to get well.

Like other Meiji giants, Sôseki stood, with one foot firmly in the past and one foot tentatively in the future, astride two worlds, the Tokugawa tradition of the past and the brave new world of modernity. He looked hard at the world he lived in, a world not unlike the fictional universe of *Meian* he created and populated, and asked serious questions about self and society, money and interpersonal relationships, personal freedom. He artfully posed all the important questions and skillfully refrained from drawing neat conclusions about modern life, about problems that are essentially irresolvable. As is frequently pointed out, Japan is still wrestling with many of these questions (along with the rest of the modern world). As in Henry James's *Wings of the Dove*, knowledge itself becomes uncertain. Just as astounding or more astounding than the instance of Sôseki beginning his novel with an anal probe, is the rhetorical significance of opening *Meian* by way of an aporia, an aporetic expression, with the anal fissure representing both an impasse and a puzzle. The *Oxford Companion to the English Language* defines it this way: "APORIA [16c through Latin from Greek *aporia* difficulty in passing, impasse, puzzle]. (1) In rhetoric, the expression of a real or simulated doubt or perplexity: *I hardly know where to start, it's really all so confusing*. (2) In logic, difficulty in establishing the truth of a proposition, caused by the presence of both favorable and unfavorable evidence." Sôseki's ironic mention of Poincaré's theory to explain coincidences makes his aporetic opening all the more challenging. It is a caveat lector warning the reader that solid answers, clear explanations and pat conclusions, like Tsuda's fissure, will not be easily sewn up. It is a postmodern touch in a modernist work. English professor and writer David Lodge has his fictional English professor in *Nice Work* explain the importance of aporia in postmodern discourse:

Robyn wrote the word with a coloured felt-tip pen on the whiteboard screwed to the wall of her office. Aporia, In classical rhetoric it means real or pretended uncertainty about the subject under discussion. Deconstructionists today use it to refer to more radical kinds of contradiction or subversion of logic or defeat of the reader's expectation in a text. You could say that it's deconstruction's favourite trope. Hillis Miller compares it to following a mountain path and then finding that it gives out, leaving you stranded, on a ledge, unable to go back or forwards. It actually derives from a Greek word meaning "a pathless path."¹⁵

Sôseki, as I have said, has written the perfect ending in leaving Tsuda on a "pathless path" (the author having died before finishing the novel—leaving it an "open text") which fairly well describes the Sôsekian protagonist in general: he is unable to go back, unable to go forward. It is the thinking man's modern condition. *I hardly know where to end; it's really all so confusing*, we could just as well say now as when we began.

NOTES

Epigrams: the famous opening lines are from, in order of appearance, Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*; George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*; Franz Kafka's "The Metamorphosis"; Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*; Ernest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*; Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Paul Clifford*; James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*; Marcel Proust's *À la Recherche du Temps Perdu*; Kawabata Yasunari's *Yukiguni* (Snow Country); Natsume Sôseki's *Meian* (Light and Darkness).

Note on page references: unless indicated otherwise, all page references to the English translation are from *Light and Darkness* (LD) trans. V. H. Viglielmo (London: Peter Owen, 1971); Japanese references are to *Meian* (M), vol. 7 of *Sôseki zenshû* (Complete Works), 17 vols. Iwanami shoten, 1974–76.

1. For an excellent overview of how critics have traditionally viewed the novel and O-Nobu's role in particular, I refer you to V. H. Viglielmo's "Afterword" in his translation, *Light and Darkness* (London: Peter Owen, 1971). "Mainstream" critics are generally regarded as Komiya Toyotaka, Ôchi Haruo, Ino Kenji and Etô Jun. James Fujii cites Karatani Kôjin as being "both heir to and critic of" such mainstream criticism.
2. There is no indication that Sôseki had read *Wings of the Dove*, but we know that he read James's *The Golden Bowl* because his marginalia in his personal copy of the book can be found in *Zôsho no yohaku ni kinyû saretaru tanhyô narabi ni zakkan* (Impressions and Short Criticism Recorded in Margins of Books from Sôseki's Personal Library) in vol. 14 of *Sôseki zenshû* (Iwanami shoten, 1974–76), 18. Three other works by Henry James found in Sôseki's library are *Partial Portraits*, *French Poets and Novelists*, and *Notes on Novelists*. This ground of comparing Henry James and Natsume Sôseki already has been touched

- upon, I was surprised to find, and rather eloquently, by Fredric R. Jameson in his article "Sôseki and Western Modernism." (boundary 2, 18:3, Duke University Press, 1991), 123-141.
- 3 There is a large body of literature on this subject available on the Internet. For possible causes, see for example The Anal Fissure Self Help Page <http://www.boardsailor.com/jack/af/index.html> a non-professional forum which seeks understanding and solidarity in a support group format for a medical condition which is still perceived as being embarrassing and difficult to talk about. We should also consider the Japanese word *ana* or hole, also read *ketsu* whose etymologies are fervently debated. In *Kotoba no yurai* (Word Origins), Taka Hôryû makes the fantastic claim that *ketsu* evolved from *ki* "life energy" and *tsunageru*, "to connect," the farfetched idea being that "*ketsu* originally meant the whole hip area and was thus the place that two people 'connected' in marriage to create 'life'." Quoted in Peter Constantine, *Japanese Street Slang* (Tokyo: Tengu Books, 1992), 94. The irony in *Meian* is that Tsuda and O-Nobu do not "connect" to create "life." Tsuda's condition, in fact, represents and embodies this rupture between them.
 - 4 See George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980) especially pp. 103 and 104 of Chapter 17 "Complex Coherences Across Metaphors," which cites the examples, "We have just *observed* that Aquinas used certain Platonic notions" and "*Having come this far*, we can see how Hegel went wrong." Metaphorical coherences will not cut across culture, but in this case similar expressions can be found in Japanese: *hyakubun wa ikken ni shikazu*, often mistranslated as "A picture is worth a thousand words), usually rendered "seeing is believing" and *hanashi ga mieru*, "I can see what you're saying."
 - 5 Sherwin B. Nuland, *How We Die* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 80.
 - 6 See Chapter 5 of Susan Sontag's *AIDS and Its Metaphors* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988).
 - 7 Michael Moon, "Sexuality and Visual Terrorism in *The Wings of the Dove*." *Criticism* 28 (Fall 1986): 427-43.
 - 8 In my article "Sôseki and Male Identity Crisis" *Japan Quarterly* 45, 2 (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1998) I failed to take into consideration the role of the new woman and the appearance of exceptionally strong women in *Meian* (not seen in other works of Sôseki) as a major source of psychological conflict in male identity.
 - 9 Mary Cross, *The Contingencies of Style* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 127.
 - 10 Paul de Man, *The Rhetoric of Blindness* (University of Minnesota, 1983), 109.
 - 11 Michelle Brandwein, "Formation, Process, and Transition" *A Journal of the Plague Year*, ed. Paul R. Backscheider (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 352.
 - 12 Quoted in Howard Hibbett, "Natsume Sôseki and the Psychological Novel," *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, ed. Donald H. Shively (Princeton University Press, 1971), 328.
 - 13 Janet Walker, *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 225.
 - 14 James Fujii, "Writing Out Asia: Modernity, Canon, and Natsume Sôseki's *Kokoro*," *positions* 1:1 (1993), 218.
 - 15 David Lodge, *Nice Work* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), 243.

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A BODY FOR SALE: THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF PROSTITUTION IN *FIN'AMOR*.

Jon McFarland, *Department of Languages & Literatures of Europe and the Americas*

ABSTRACT

This study considers *fin'amor* poetry as a literary structure that illustrates solicitation as a form of prostitution. By considering the interplay between the sexes in the *pastourelle* within the context of what I call the "sexual economic system," which attempts to regard sexual solicitation as a form of economic bargaining, solicitous sexual relations are justified as a means for the woman to ensure psychological, emotional, and financial gains by manipulating the male libido. Critical theory acts as the base to the formulated structure of this system whereby positivism is identified in a negatively imposed definition of prostitution to produce a new method of regarding medieval love poetry.

In her article, "On the Politics of Literature," Judith Fetterly exclaims, "Literature is political" (561). This statement simply and inclusively defines the complexity of medieval French poetry. From the epic *chanson de geste* in which the songs of treachery and deceit sing the praises of political propaganda, to the slightly more social *roman* that politicizes the roles of power through the social conventions of love and the dynamic of chivalry, we find that medieval French literature is not only political, but economic as well.¹ This is to say that medieval literature, specifically the French *pastourelle*, which by popular belief deals with matters concerning love, also deals with the economic matters of the libido. It is a lyrical poem that defines *fin'amor* as a celebration of love and an expression of elevated desire for the woman.

Typically regarded as a poetic genre that emulates love and the undeniable pursuit of amour, the *pastourelle* is saturated with a sexual aura that is expressed through the medium of solicitation.² It will be through the means of economic sexuality that I identify in *fin'amor*³ a promoter of prostitution. Vern and Bonnie Bullough choose to view prostitution as a mechanism for survival where the "controversy stems from the fact that female primates (as well as younger males) have been observed offering their sexual services—'presentation' is the technical term—in return for food or to avoid attack" (1). Interestingly enough, their definition restricts the phenomenon of prostitution strictly to the very basics of animal instinct. Regarding their definition, the "presentation" of the female in the case of the *pastourelle*, may also refer to other genres of literature between 1100-1300, such as the *chanson d'amour* or the *roman*. If in fact this "presentation" is biologically founded, then prostituting the physical body is not really prostitution at all, but a mere instinctual reaction toward a social conflict: Sexual solicitation is prostitution and it is not.

The question of female equality with her male counterpart is relative to the perspective from which one considers sexual solicitation, but within an idealized system of sexual economics, equality is achievable. By focusing on the male-female discourse and physical exchange between the sexes, the representation of a sexual interaction as a commercial exchange offers a new perspective concerning the perception of *fin'amor*. In this exchange, erotic male-female interplay may be conceptualized as a form of socially acceptable prostitution. But is the "presentation" of the female body a form of degradation of the woman and a repression of the feminine? And is prostitution merely a phenomenon that suppresses the woman in medieval poetry? Examining these questions in light of the sexual economic theory, one may negate the possibility of female degradation and suppression in the *pastourelle*, proving that sexual solicitation may act as an avenue toward female empowerment over her male counterpart. Although this theory may be applicable in many cases, there remain examples where sexual economics does not prove profitable for the female gender. Therefore, I strive to address those points of the spectrum where sexual economics may or may not be pertinent to *fin'amor* by taking into account the many variations of the *pastourelle*.

Classical history has helped promote the biblical misogynistic roots where medieval literature finds its base.⁴ The sheer validation of moral inferiority places the woman in a compelling situation of having to break past the unchallenged barriers of misogyny throughout history. The generalized assumption of Woman's lack of sexual morality has dubbed her an enemy to Mankind regardless of the ever-present victimization of the female gender. Woman plays the negative role; she is the binary opposite that negates the social positivism of medieval manhood. Sexual economics attempts to reverse the woman's proposed negative sexual morality by

equating the responsibility of sexual interplay on both Man and Woman. Through these means Man is equally as immoral as Woman.⁵

With my reading of *fin'amor* as a form of economic prostitution that is socially accepted under the pretext of being love poetry, it is necessary to convert the modern, and most often, negative perception of the term as a sexually immoral act, to a view that regards it purely as a system of social and financial advancement through sexual intercourse. This view eliminates the negative impositions of the woman/prostitute; and certainly discounts the modern theoretical perception that the prostitute becomes an outcast, condemned by a western society that adheres to strict moral and religious codes of sexual conduct. By considering *fin'amor* a medium of sexual promiscuity one finds a redefinition of love pertinent to the validity of medieval sexual economy. With regards to this specialized system, one may choose to include along with the idealization of human sexuality as a possible explanation to the structure of love, the celebration of opposite (or same) gendered bodies through emotional, psychological, and sexual contact. The collectivity of all aspects for the structure would probably fulfill twentieth-century expectations of the all-encompassing love experience although not all subsections need be included in order for consideration as criteria for *fin'amor*.

A modern imposition of the concepts of love would infringe on the medieval model present in *fin'amor* allowing the highest ideals of purity and innocence to be clouded by deception and sexual self-absorption. This does not mean that all models of love are based solely on characteristics that would never permit an emotional bond between the sexes. *Fin'amor* simply envelops all the aspects of sexual interplay and tends to emphasize the erotics of sexual conflict. Specified examples for my study of sexual interplay between men and women have been derived from the medieval *pastourelle*, a poetic genre whose focal point concentrates on the sexual interaction, or lack thereof, between the sexes.

Fin'amor coincided with theological history and perspective by expressing the Church's toleration of prostitution by promulgating the themes of adultery and solicitous affairs.⁶ Even though the poets of *fin'amor* still wrote during a time of unquestioned Christian influence, the theme of *l'amour courtois*, or courtly love as defined in the nineteenth century, revolves around adulterous love and sexual activity outside of wedlock. *Fin'amor* assumes the institution of marriage does not allow a loving relationship between a man and woman, thereby forcing the individual into sin in order to find emotional happiness outside the confines of marriage:

Saint Thomas Aquinas, agreed that though fornication was sinful, prostitution could not be entirely disallowed. He compared it to a sewer in the palace; if the sewer was removed, the palace would be filled with pollution; similarly if prostitution was removed the world would be filled with "sodomy" and other crimes. (Bullough 1987: 120)

We may also use this analogy to describe the interaction between the man and woman in *fin'amor*. The woman's seduction by the man's physical offering of gifts, adoration, and service to her in return for sexual intercourse is a theme that appears quite often in the medieval French *pastourelle*. It is the sexual tension and the erotic interplay between the sexes that help define this genre. Masked by the facade of love and romance with the valiant knight trying to seduce a young maiden tending her flock, a complex business transaction is actually taking place.⁷ By delving further into the intimate discourse between the two, we come to understand that the knight's flirtatious propositions are indeed solicitous sexual advances aimed at blatantly prostituting the body of the female. In a *pastourelle* by Jean de Brienne called "Par dessoz l'ombre d'un bois," a cavalier approaches a young shepherdess and propositions her with sweet love-making⁸ and in the "Pastourelle de Dame Joli-Corps," the knight notices that the young maiden is alone and offers her a corset inlaid with silver.⁹ Interestingly enough, the objects of the knights' affections/propositions in both examples dismissed their suitors with ironic refusals. Due to the many outcomes of the *pastourelle*, it would be difficult to claim that sexual reciprocation is typical; copulation, or a lack thereof, cannot be assumed.

Two points of view exist concerning objectification of the female which is most fore-shadowed in the construction of mimetic desire.¹⁰ Mimesis most often involves three individuals: the *dompna*, *amant*, and *lausengier*.¹¹ The female (*dompna*) is desired by the lover (*amant*), who in most cases, does not know her intimately. The *lausengier* is usually typified by the jealous husband of the *dompna* who desperately tries to terminate any rapport between her and the *amant*. In turn, he imitates the lover's desire for the woman which inevitably turns to hatred due to her lack of reciprocating love for him. Therefore, the *lausengier* ends up hating the *dompna*, the one he loves the most. On the one hand, she is automatically denied human dignity and respect

by being turned into a sex object which may seem flattering to her at first but inevitably debases her since the man's obsession is purely physical. This seemingly present dehumanization bases itself solely on the knight's thirst for sex.¹² If Woman is credited with reason, she is capable of capitalizing on sexual solicitation and no longer remains a victim of seduction. This alternative viewpoint considers the woman as a complete being capable of intelligible financial and psychological reasoning because she bargains with a commodity that she knows best: her body. This perspective neutralizes the utilization of the woman's body by not viewing prostitution negatively. Rather, it attempts to redefine the term contextually within the realm of economics:

Not every woman is a potential prostitute, but prostitution is the logical consequence of the feminine attitude. In so far as she is attractive, a woman is a prey to men's desire. Unless she refuses completely because she is determined to remain chaste, the question is at what price and under what circumstances will she yield. But if the conditions are fulfilled she always offers herself as an object. Prostitution proper only brings in a commercial element... Putting oneself forward is the fundamental feminine attitude... Only prostitution has made it possible for adornment to stress the erotic value of the object. (Bataille, 131-32)

Prostitution acts as an economic device, a tool that benefits not only the male libido but also the financial stature of the woman involved. George Bataille in his book, *Death and Sensuality*, suggests that objectification of the woman automatically imposes negativity because Woman will always remain the prey of the male aggressor. By regarding the interior motives of the woman in the commercial exchange of goods for sex, we identify her as an entrepreneur whose own body acts as a money and power-making enterprise. The act of "putting oneself forward," as Bataille states, is a reciprocal action within the sexual economic system. Through language the man's/poet's descriptions of the female body transform to a specified body language dominated by the feminine. The unfortunate downside to her nondiscursive "presentation" as defined by Vern and Bonnie Bullough, is the man's uncontrollable internalization of what the female form *says* to him. She may be giving off erotic vibrations that tempt his libido when she might not choose to do so. The man's mental interpretation of the female form is owned by him and him alone. The initial attraction for her body is beyond her control, but she can indeed attain physical sexual manipulation.

A modern definition of prostitution, as seen in *Webster's New World Dictionary*, perpetuates the degradation of the medieval woman. However, if we reconsider prostitution as a commercial transaction that empowers the woman by equating her to the man, if not uplifting her financially and psychologically, it no longer suppresses the female but augments her position within the misogynistic social system. Her rise to power over the physically dominant knight/man is possible with female sensualism. The woman's ability to exude sex may be consciously driven by a sensuality that tempts man to do her will solely with the hope of achieving sexual satisfaction. By realizing her innate feminine power over the male, she can achieve gains that improve her financial status, as well as a psychological dominance by manipulating his desires.

When considering feminine sensuality as innate, physical and psychological eroticism is inescapable and demands particular attention.¹³ Bataille explains physical sexuality as "always accompanying eroticism, [it] is to it what the brain is to the mind; physiology remains the material basis of thought in just the same way. We must include the animal's sexual function with the rest of the data if we are to put our inner experience of eroticism in its proper place in objective reality..." (94). Considered within these circumstances, physical sexuality is biologically driven by the unavoidable erotic which I also call *sensuality*. Although biologically signifiable, the male libido, which is generalized to represent the embodiment of masculine desire for the opposite sex, is not justified in the misogynistic enactment of sexual solicitation. The fact that humans can control the libido and possess the choice to copulate not purely for sexual satisfaction lies at the forefront of my argument against condoning medieval misogyny. Mankind stakes claim to a genetic differentiation as human beings from the rest of the animal world. Humans maintain an ability superior to the average "beast" to dictate when we have sex, and to copulate for reasons other than to procreate. In short, the present misogyny of the medieval knight through sexual proposition is unjustifiable because the libido can be controlled. Since Man's sexual urges override his mental capacity to abstain from soliciting sex, Woman has no choice but to confront Man's sexual tension.

Woman claims an additional advantage over her male counterpart: the choice of whether she will experience orgasm or not, which will be addressed in further detail later in my study. Of course, this statement seems generalized to exclude men from the possibility of having sex without orgasm. I do not deny the possibility but would rather challenge the probability of this phenomenon occurring specifically within the context of *fin'amor*. The reality of the woman's dissatisfaction with her sexual experience, in many cases, tends

to be absolved and jaded by concluding poetic commentary that supports the male perspective stating her willingness to reciprocate. For example, realizing that he is unable to persuade the maiden into having a sexual encounter willingly, the knight in "En mai, la rousee, que nest la flor," ravishes her with his desire surprisingly without complaint, later to have the maiden announce her devotion for him.¹⁴ The maiden may blatantly refuse the cavalier's advances but once he forces himself upon her, she gives into his charm. Her inevitable willingness to physical seduction promotes masculine sexual authority through the repression of the feminine.

Sex no longer remains strictly biological because it can be used as a tool to fulfill esthetic needs. Natural biological needs cannot be blamed for the repercussions of sexual interaction. The esthetics of sexual economy bases itself on capital return which may be received in several different forms aside from monetary goods, i.e. promise of devotion and further favors offered with the knight's hope of receiving continual sexual satisfaction. An example of this reciprocal capital return is expressed by the young maiden in "En mai, la rousee, que nest la flor," to the courting knight about her devoted lover who provides her with enough expensive gifts to fulfill her needs.¹⁵ Although she refuses the courting cavalier verbally, according to the poet, she doesn't refuse him sexually. In some cases, the cavalier's built-up mental and sexual frustration rises to an uncontrollable level at which he is consumed with the image of fulfilling his sexual desires and therefore ravishes the young maiden with physical force.

The sexual tension already present from the beginning of the poem and directly addressed in the knight's proposition to the maiden peaks with her unwillingness to reciprocate physically. The outcome of the man's sexual tension may vary from poem to poem. One finds two extremes present in *fin'amor*. In some cases, the knight is unable to control his urges and may sexually violate a young maiden. In other examples, the cavalier may devote himself totally to her memory through celibacy, which on the contrary to sexual violation of the feminine, is the repression of the masculine. In "A la fontenele," a young knight approaches a distressed maiden who wishes the return of her lover. The cavalier offers himself as an alternate lover, but she refuses him based solely on her willingness to please her parents by pledging her love to a man whom they have deemed worthy. The knight understands that "he had lost his time" (Bibliothèque Médiévale, 1983, p.315 [my translation]) and exhibits his devotion to her in becoming a monk.¹⁶

The physical enjoyment of sex by females is dominated by two different variables: her psychological state and the physical suppression of the man involved. A tough mental psyche that extracts a certain phallic strength plays a strong role in the augmentation of her financial and psychological status over Man. Thus, to control the desires of the masculine, Woman must manipulate the phallus through feminine means. For example, in the *ballette* entitled, "Amors ne se donne mais elle se vant," the woman is consciously aware of her role as a sexual object of Man's desires, but proves to the reader that she has successfully turned sexual objectification around to enhance her financial advancement.¹⁷ We see this in the repetitive refrain, "Love doesn't give itself, it sells itself: nothing is loved without money" (my translation).¹⁸ This poem, although seemingly sung by a man, blatantly demonstrates a certain feminine determination and Woman's comprehension of how to manipulate the economic world of commerce with sexuality.

My definition of "enjoyment" may be dissected further to include the physical orgasm which is undeterminable by her male counterpart, as well as the level of emotional attachment associated with the physical sex-act. For Woman, sex is psychological. Bataille addresses the "inner experience" in his study of eroticism which may also be determined as the female's psychological experience of sex. Her psycho-sexual capability of control to experience sex in the mind thereby controlling her physical orgasm automatically offers her an advantage over the cavalier whose pleasure is evident through the physio-sexual experience of ejaculation. The male climax is the pinnacle of the male sexual experience that provides no gain of masculine power but a loss of it. With ejaculation, the male discharges semen, the representation of his masculine dominance over the female. The physical orgasmic experience leaves him empty of power, and empty of sexual dominance. Woman, the "willing" reciprocator of the sexual encounter, therefore gains that portion of his masculinity which defines his sexual vigor. The empowerment of the female gender is validated by the transference of bodily fluids:

Man --> semen --> Woman

This, however, does not substantiate the lack of masculinity in Woman's body but is in addition to the ever-present masculine strength in her. As expressed earlier in this study, some examples of *fin'amor* do not follow the guidelines expressed here. The extreme of male dominance expressed in the *pastourelle* is physical abuse from the *lausengier* or the violation of the woman after her refusal to copulate. So as not to tarnish the glorification of the medieval male perspective, the woman ends up enjoying the sexual experience and devotes her love to the knight as seen in *En mai, la rousee, que nest la flor*.

Misogyny outweighs the importance and influence of the female in *fin'amor* in its attempt to promulgate male dominance. In many cases, solicitation means reciprocation between the sexes. In some examples, this transference of sex for money/goods tends not to equate but leaves the woman with the advantage. If one considers the woman's capability of controlling orgasm as a gendered advantage, then one may also consider that she is withholding love. Within the context of commercializing sex, the following statement holds significant truth: One may have sex without making love.

Adhering to the sexual economic system, Woman offers her physical body, emotionally unattached but psychologically grounded in her knowledge of Man's desires. Her mental self-restraint of not offering her orgasm, unbeknownst to him, leaves him the impression that she is giving him all, when in reality, it is he who is giving all. Within the interplay between the man and woman in *fin'amor*, the man attempts to seduce with words while the woman can entice him with her body alone. From the very start, she has the advantage over him. By sensually affirming her interest in a sexual rapport, she not only wins over the attention of his sexual organ but his mind as well. With physical satisfaction at the forefront of his mind, she is given the opportunity to name her price for reciprocating. The sexual interaction present in the *fin'amor* of early French literary history offers a strict exception to Luce Irigaray's view of patriarchal dominance within the realm of commercial exchange:

The exchanges upon which patriarchal societies are based take place exclusively among men. Women, signs, commodities, and currency always pass from one man to another; if it were otherwise, we are told, the social order would fall back upon incestuous and exclusively endogamous ties that would paralyze all commerce...Thus the labor force and its products, including those of mother earth, are the object of transactions among men and men alone. (574)

It would seem that feminine economic power is limited to *fin'amor*, although in retrospect, the literature of the day tends to mirror feminine social capability and Woman's mode of manipulating Man. Referring back to the empowerment of Woman in "Amors ne se donne...", the poetic display of feminine constitution over the male libido acts as a small expression of the socio-historical development of Woman's representation and the rise to feminism. Her endogenous struggle to equate herself is realized through a mode of commercial transaction within the sexual economic system.

Where in the realm of politics and society Man generally dominated the Middle Ages, Woman found her equality through the commercialization of sexual intercourse. Contrary to most popular feminist theory that the female did not find any representation in medieval capitalism, the presence of sexuality and male seduction of the *bergère* or shepherdess represents what I would reiterate as "medieval prostitution" that does not connote derogation.¹⁹ By eliminating derogatory connotations of prostitution, I redefine the term to neutralize judgmental imposition and incorporate the act of solicitation for sex into the economic system of medieval commerce by simply considering sexual interplay as a financial and commercial transaction.

The transaction of sex for goods, money or other services, evident in *fin'amor* provides the reader a clear example of capitalism at work.²⁰ The reciprocation of sexual satisfaction results in the surplus of power for the woman over her male counterpart. For power over herself as an individual, she relies on sensuality, her sexual essence that Man does not obtain. For most feminists perhaps the absence of total control over the woman's body whether she gives sexual pleasure or not is a sign of extreme passivity that allows the female to be swallowed and consumed by medieval misogyny:

But I am speaking here of femininity as keeping alive the other that is confided to her, that visits her, that she can love as other. The loving to be other, another, without its necessarily going the rout of abasing what is

same, herself...But there is a nonclosure that is not submission but confidence and comprehension; that is not an opportunity for destruction but for wonderful expansion. (Cixous, 149)

In her work, *Sorties*, Hélène Cixous speaks of an internal feminine confidence that is expressed in seizing the control of herself as a woman through the strength of the phallus that is in her, and is hers. With this strength and the conscious understanding of herself as a sexual creature that can benefit through reciprocation, she has the final word whether the contract is finalized or not.

The final act of copulating that seals the contract between the sexes opens a new door of opportunity that the knight/male does not expect: one taste of sexual pleasure will drive him to want more. The man's sexual libido acts as the main force that will lead him to his own suppression and the woman's dominance of his heart and mind. She knows that he will want more sex, and when that time comes, she will be able to name her price. Woman also benefits with her ability to hide sexual pleasure. In further regarding Woman's orgasmic control, Nietzsche provides us a synthesis of the woman's ability to conceal orgasm by claiming, "Finally – if one loved them...what comes of it inevitably? that they 'give themselves,' even when they – give themselves. The female is so artistic" (317).

The phallic importance of maleness and male power is hyped to a peak within the political and social system of the Middle Ages that, even in literature, it is unavoidable. The pleasure-performative act of sexual intercourse as a result of male seduction is exalted again from a male perspective, whereby glorifying the achievement of accomplishing sexual domination of the woman's *pucelage* which refers to her virginity, or from a more theoretical perspective, the hymen, being her sacred commodity.²¹ Once the hymen is broken, *pucelage* is lost, but not after she quickly learns of the psychological advantage of utilizing her womanhood to achieve superiority over male desire. Lacanian theory, which has been greatly criticized for its emphasis of the phallus as the governing signifier in the symbolic order, finds itself subverted by the glorified hymen, the sought-after commodity of the feminine. Not psychologically linked to the mentality of the female as the penis is to Man, the focus of the poetic verse becomes "gyno-centric."

Where hegemonic poetics appear to yield to the feminine, it only does so as to promote the phallo-social constructs that suppress it. William Burgwinkle states that medieval poetics consisted largely of an audience "directed to men, dealing with men, exchanged between men, even when women constituted an important part of the audience" (6).²² Woman is not considered a vital component of the overall structure of poetics in traditional misogyny. Viewed in light of the feminist spectrum many theorists have only observed her from a vanquished social and literary state. Sexual economics views the woman as an opportunist despite her situation expressed in the literature of the day, for it is through medieval poetry that we find her most liberated and in control of her body.²³ It is through *fin'amor* that Woman can possess beauty and rationality, both which she can utilize to manage her own affairs despite the desires of her male counterpart. As seems appropriate in keeping with medieval gender difference by means of opposition: male/female, the poetic verse itself may also be gender specific whereby two variations exist: phallopoetics/gynopoetics.

Phallopoetics may be defined as poetic verse that celebrates the phallus or male libido. In the most medieval sense of the term, it is considered suppressive of feminism and the female form. In many cases, it is literature that promotes the bond between men producing a symbolic love of same-sex gender relations that emanates a homoeroticism deeply rooted in phallic significance. As for some medieval poetic genres, the complete absence of woman presents a distinguishing determination of the hegemonic chivalric system.²⁴ Gynopoetics, on the other hand, celebrates Woman, her beauty, charm and cunning by her use of her own femininity. It is an expression of Woman's divergence from the suppression of the phallus through her manipulation of it. Medieval poetics focuses on desire which tends to be gyno-centered, revolving around the importance of female sexuality. Finding validation through feminine expression of sensuality along with phallic aggression, what perhaps started as phallopoetic evolves toward "gynecic" determination.²⁵

The sexual economic system revolves around the setting of *fin'amor* where in the *pastourelle* a young woman being approached by a libido-driven knight who attempts to seduce her, or within economic terminology, "makes her a bargain." The offer is made and words are exchanged between the two. Bargaining can also occur between them, when the knight, after receiving the impression that his method of temptation may not prove profitable, will continue with further indiscriminate seduction and rhetorical persuasion.²⁶ A verbal

contract is brought about either by the acceptance or refusal of physical reciprocation. During this time, the woman tends to direct the outcome of the business dealing because she can say, "Yea" or "Nay" to the proposition. When a woman agrees to a sexual interlude, the experience of copulation is sometimes tactfully described with misogynistic undertones that leave the impression that the woman was completely and totally satisfied. The literary machismo of boasting the woman's complete adoration of the knight after sex only supports the phallogocentric ideals of medieval society and conceals Woman's threat of superiority over his dominance within the realm of "sexual economy." Just as easily as we consider the primitive sexual desires of the male libido assaultive, Woman also acts out with passive aggression. Woman's conscious understanding of her sexual power over Man through her erotic self is her first step to aggression with which she can manipulate the direction of the outcome. She wears her femininity as a charming defense against the masculine, all the while turning the weakness of the male libido against its original aggressor.

In *fin'amor*, a woman's beauty is her greatest asset, in that it acts as the "marketing gimmick" that attracts the man to her and whets his appetite to know her sexually. Sexual solicitation occurs more often with women of beauty whose sexual attraction is evident without her ever uttering a word. The misogynistic implications of this statement would perhaps express a direct validation of the woman as a sexual object: one to be seen and not heard. Indeed, it makes claim to both the medieval subjugation of women and a contemporary theoretical empowerment of her body. Undoubtedly the medieval Woman was silenced by a society that promoted the interests of men and cultivated the misogynistic elements that composed *fin'amor* as a tool for promoting the masculine. Through modern feminist theory we find it possible to extract the positivism of woman's dexterity to manipulate her suppressor with sheer beauty. Woman's potential lies in feminine beauty, that which men do not possess. This in turn converts to what I consider a marketing tool. Man's commercial interest lies in her physical attraction which he must approach by verbalizing his intentions. The symbolism of her body alone emits her sensuality necessary to transmit desirous temptations to the male libido through nonverbal discourse.

Women throughout the centuries have come to realize their innate power over their own sexuality and have used it to get what they want, although beauty alone is not enough to surpass a male counterpart. A woman must be cunning and have a clear understanding of her own innate feminine power so as not to be charmed by male verbosity. While he energetically makes his "sales pitch" in hopes of seducing her, he in turn tries to sell himself. His self-promotion is usually presented with great nonchalance and *machismo* which I define as the male ego and sexual assuredness present in *fin'amor* that attempt to regard and symbolize the cavalier's control over the seduction. But who is seducing whom? He verbally converges upon her but has already been seduced by her inherent beauty. His nonchalance refers to his lack of subtlety in his self-presentation, and his sexual lewdness portrays a certain pretentiousness that lacks genuine emotional sensitivity.

Woman herself has also been known to be insensitive to Man's feelings; one example can be found in "Pastourelle de Dame Joli-Corps" in which the young maiden scoffs at the knight's proposal with insult:

I find you foolish, cavalier
crazy in the head,
for you ask of me
that which I do not preoccupy myself with.
Father and mother I have,
and husband I will have;
and if God willing,
they will bring me honor (my translation).²⁷

Another example of Woman's aggressiveness is seen in the refrain of the *ballette* entitled, "Li hons fait folie," where the poet sings of his own ignorance for ever loving a woman:

The man is really crazy
who believes to be loved
while he is not (my translation).²⁸

The poet continues his song, perplexed by the fact that she had not been faithful to him:

I called her my friend,
my heart, my death and my life;
I didn't believe
that she could betray me (my translation)²⁹

As portrayed here, Woman claims emotional dominance; and, in examples such as these, is verbally excoriated for her unwillingness to reciprocate Man's desire.

Through an in depth analysis of sexual relations in medieval poetry, one finds an alternate thought process with regards to *fin'amor*. By regarding Woman as an active component in the commercial transaction of sex for goods, she gains social and economic responsibility. Financial and psychological empowerment are her rewards for successful phallic manipulation. In many cases as seen in this study, feminism rises to power by exalting the female form and feminine sexuality. Sexual economics equates the genders in a reciprocal form of solicitation: Man tempts with money or monetary goods while Woman in turn can tempt him with sensuality. Money and power are both achievable for the shepherdess of the *pastourelle* as long as the body is for sale.

NOTES

- 1 The *Roman de la Rose* and *Perceval et Le Roman du Graal* may be examples of the medieval novel. Although the novel is not considered a genre until the seventeenth-century by many historicists, many medievalists would agree that the classification of such a genre has found its beginnings in the Middle Ages with the simple characteristic of being written in the vernacular. Emmanuèle Baumgartner (1988) explains the pertinent differentiation between erotic sin and *l'amour courtois* by stating that "religious morals would not confuse itself with the satisfaction of physical love or the drama of passion" (87, my translation).
- 2 "The doctrine of *fin'amor* also possesses a moral dimension. The *troubadours* did not, as we have often said, invent love. But they forged an ethic of sexuality. They affirmed (and perhaps believed) the carnal desire controlled, disciplined in and by the framework of courtly love, could have become a model (and not simply a function), that the erotic pulses for man which risk advocating submission in order to better dominate, could have been the living source of a *melhurar*, an amelioration of the being" (Baumgartner 1988: 86 [my translation]).
- 3 I shall refer to *fin'amor* throughout, but am only specifically considering the *pastourelle* in reference unless indicated otherwise.
- 4 "Aristotle believed that he had scientific evidence of female inferiority and held that women were not only intellectually but morally inferior to men. Proof for such a conclusion he said could be seen in nature where the male of each species was demonstrably more advanced than the female—larger, stronger, and more agile. So also was this the case with men. From this he concluded that male domination was the will of nature and to try to challenge nature in the name of an imagined principle of equality was quite contrary to the interests both of the individual and the community" (Bullough, 45).
- 5 Degrees of immorality are determined by biblical doctrine referring to adulterous affairs or premarital sex. Man/Woman is capitalized to represent the totality of gender in opposition to its binary.
- 6 The question of sexual morality soon became the dealings of the clergy who struggled over the severity of punishment for sexual sins of fornication, adultery, and prostitution. Such illicit sexual acts remained leading sins for the Church, and the penance for such acts were documented in penitentials, such as the *Medieval Handbook of Penance*, that spanned throughout the centuries of the Christian Church. Although such sexual acts were not condoned, there seemed to be little resistance to literature that portrayed such activity.
- 7 Typical of the *pastourelle*, referring to generic classification and female representation of the young maiden or shepherdess—*pastourelle*.
- 8 "Pastore amie, / De bon cuer a vos me rent: / Faisons de fueille cortine, / S'amerons mignotement" (v.15-18).
- 9 "Dieus vos sal, na pastorela / Color-de-rozeta; / Fort me meravill de vos / Com estaitz soleta; / Bliaut vos darai / Si penre-l vos plai, / Menudet cordat / Ab fietz d'argen" (v.13-20).

- 10 For further readings of mimetic desire refer to René Girard's *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel*. Trans. Yvonne Freccero. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- 11 This triangular construction coincides with Girardian mimetic desire but employs typical troubadour terminology.
- 12 The knight symbolizes maleness, the seemingly oppressive binary to the suppressed other, being Woman.
- 13 I mention psychological eroticism which is exuded by the female and is overtly received by the male libido with the assumption that the knight's first desire is to copulate. Generally speaking, the sexual economic system assumes that the male libido is driven by an aroused mental state.
- 14 Quant de la pastore oi fet mon talent, / sus mon palefroi montai maintenant, / et ele s'escrue: / "Au filz sainte Marie, / chevalier, vous commant. / Ne m'oubliez mie, / car je sui vostre amie, / mes revenez souvent" (v.33-40).
- 15 "Sire Champenois, / par vostre folie ne m'avroiz des mois, / car je sui amie / au filz dame Marie, / Robinet le cortois / qui me chauce et lie, / et se ne me let mie / sanz biau chapiau d'orfrois" (v.17-24).
- 16 "Je me vois rendre a Roiaumont / mon cuer remandra avec vos" (v.39-40). In *Hui main par un ajornant*, the knight gracefully accepts her refusal of copulation and comends her on safeguarding her *pucelage*: "Pastorele, trop es sage / de garder ton pucelage: / se toutes tes conpaignetes fussent si, / plus en alast de puceles a mari" (v.33-36).
- 17 A poetic genre mostly sung by women expressing the turmoil of love, the *ballette* is typified by triangularity, jealousy, vengeance and deceit.
- 18 Amors ne se donne, mais elle se vant: / Il n'est nuns ki soit ameis s'i n'ait argent (refrain).
- 19 The *bergère* is an example of Woman represented in the *pastourelle*, a genre that typifies a knight who meets a young shepherdess in the forest and attempts to seduce her. Other examples of Woman's representation is identified in the virgin (*vierge*) or *dompna* (*troubadour* definition of the objectified woman in *fin'amor* poetry).
- 20 Gayle Rubin, in her article, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," provides a comprehensive definition of capitalism as a structure where production gives rise to reproduction: "Capitalism is a set of social relations - forms of property, and so forth - in which production takes the form of turning money, things, and people into capital. And capital is a quantity of goods or money which, when exchanged for labor, reproduces and augments itself by extracting unpaid labor, or surplus value, from labor and into itself" (535). The skeletal framework of capitalism is further developed and structurally solidified by solicitation, a derivation of the basic term where sex acts as the reproduced product.
- 21 This refers to Jacques Lacan's idea of the hymen as being sacred which acts as a commodity in the sexual economic system.
- 22 Burgwinkle states, "Nietzsche thus acknowledged that homosexual passion could serve as a conduit for men's higher instincts at the same time that he condemned it as an impediment to the development of the 'noble' and 'delicate' quality of (hetero) 'sexual love'" (7). This implies that (hetero)sexual love was extreme as a response to the existent misogynistic male bonding presented in the binaries: heterosexual/homosexual. In order for the former to exceed in "normality" and superiority, the suppression of the other is required. In this construction, the other is Woman who will feel all the repercussions of repressing the homosexual tendencies of medieval male bonding.
- 23 This generalization does not pertain to all cases of medieval French literature, as we have experienced with verse contradictory to the theory, but may apply in many cases.
- 24 Hegemonic determination is evident in the *chanson de geste* (i.e.) *La Chanson de Roland*, *Ami et Amile*, *Eric et Enide*, *Ivan et Gauvain*, etc. that emulates same-sex bonds and promotes socially acceptable homoerotic interaction between knights.
- 25 "Gynecic" refers to Woman and femininity that defines her; it is the feminine constitution that survives the suppression of the masculine.
- 26 Carole Pateman in *The Sexual Contract* states, "Only masculine beings are endowed with the attributes and capacities necessary to enter into contracts, the most important of which is ownership of property in the person; only men, that is to say, are 'individuals'" (5). Sexual economics attempts to promote the inclusion of women as property owners of their own bodies by factoring in a level of awareness when concerning the use of their body for sexual intercourse. In this manner of consideration, she is deemed a "sexual economist." Within this system, the ability of single-gendered endowment expands to include the female gender in the bargaining stage of the contract. This expansion uplifts the female gender through the inclusion of her voice and the representation of her body

- 27 "Per fol vos ai, cavalier, / Plen d'auradua, / Quar vos mi demandas / So don non ai cura. / Pair'e maire ai / E si a Dieu plai, / Far-m'aun onramen" (v.21-28).
- 28 "Li hons fait folie / qui cude estre ameis, et il ne l'est mie (*Poèmes d'amour...*, 366).
- 29 Je l'appeloie m'amie, / mon cuer, ma mort et ma vie; / car je ne cudoie mie / k'ele me dëust traïr (*Poèmes d'amour...*, 369). The word *ami* in Modern French (*mie* in Old French) connotes "friend" but was widely used throughout the twelfth century to refer to a lover or *amant*. From the eleventh through the seventeenth centuries, *ami*, also synonymous with *amitié* (friendship) held strong sexual and erotic connotations. For further explanation of lexicology see Frédéric Godefroy's *Lexique de L'Ancien Français*. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1994.

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DIDEROT'S *ENCYCLOPEDIA* : THE WORK OF A EUROPEAN

Marie-Thérèse Lawen, Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas

ABSTRACT

Diderot was called "Le Philosophe". Writing novels, plays, tales, satires, he is mostly remembered for his *Encyclopedia*. His work is a milestone in the history of ideas.

This paper will show that, at the dawn of the third millenium, Diderot overall is a European. He had the dream of a Union, a Federation of free civilized countries. He was aware of the importance of solidarity among workers, and the importance of the pride they take in their work.

Diderot was not a politician, but he fought with an extraordinary energy against intolerance, prejudice and despotism. Voltaire wrote him : "We are on the threshold of a great revolution in the human mind, and it is, Monsieur, to you principally that we owe it".

Today Diderot is important principally for two reasons: Denis Diderot was a man who influenced the future of mankind. He was a major figure of the Enlightenment, the 18th century European philosophical movement characterized by rationalism and an impetus toward learning, and his contributions continue to make an impact on contemporary society. His contributions touched on the study of psychology, ethics, religion and social issues.

I. DIDEROT'S LIFE

Denis Diderot was born in 1713 in Langres, France. His father was a cutlery craftsman, and Denis was the eldest of seven children. His father decided that Denis should become a priest and had him educated by the Jesuits. Diderot was a brilliant student, but was not very inspired by the idea of the priesthood. He became a master of arts at age nineteen. Subsequently, he adopted a bohemian lifestyle; thus, he experienced a episode of personal freedom which has only come to light recently. Blake T. Hanna, an American professor and scholar specialist of Diderot, discovered that for three years, from 1732 to 1735, Diderot was a student in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris. Hanna uncovered registers conserved at the library of the Sorbonne which contain registers revealing this interval in Diderot's life. His discovery at the archives of the university reduced the number of years in which Diderot lived a bohemian lifestyle.

Diderot experienced difficult times during these ten years of *la vie de bohème*; he studied math and English and translated the History of Greece by Temple Stanyan and a dictionary of medicine by James from English into French. His knowledge of the English language gave him the opportunity to discover Newton and Locke, the two precursors of European Enlightenment. During this same period he also met Rousseau and the German writer, Grimm, who became one of his best friends.

In 1746, the bookseller and printer Le Breton asked him to translate the English *Cyclopaedia* written by Ephraïm Chambers. The idea of an encyclopedia was not new. Some even refer to Aristotle as the "father of encyclopedias" because of the wide range of subjects in his work and his attempt to summarize knowledge.

II. TERM "ENCYCLOPEDIA"

But what is an encyclopedia? The word is familiar to all of us and sometimes we may think it is a kind of dictionary with a lot of words and ideas. The word "encyclopedia" comes from the Greek *egkuklios paideia* which means "circle of education". Du Bellay in the 16th century, named it the *circle of science*. Encyclopedias had been written before: René François wrote an Essay (1636) about the wonders of nature and "nobles artifices". Pierre Bayle published a philosophical dictionary in Rotterdam in 1697. But Bernard Fontenelle was the great precursor of the spirit of the encyclopedia at the end of the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century.

III. DIDEROT AND THE CYCLOPAEDIA

Diderot's involvement with the development of an encyclopedia began in 1745, when Le Breton met the Englishman, John Mills, and the German, Gottfried Sellius, who encouraged him to publish the *Cyclopaedia of Chambers*. The project did not work out with Mills and Sellius and finally Le Breton talked about the proposal to Diderot and his friend d'Alembert. At the beginning, the work consisted of eight volumes of text and two engravings. The proposed project was welcomed with a lot of interest. Fifty-five collaborators offered their co-operation, among them, Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Buffon, d'Holbach and many more. The total contributors eventually numbered 160.

IV. THE PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

However, soon the project encountered difficulties. Diderot was arrested and spent some time in the jail of Vincennes for his *Lettre aux Aveugles* (1749). Diderot lost his faith in the Catholic Church. In this publication he took another step from Deism towards Materialism, saying that Man's ideas were generated by our senses (and not by God). This incarceration proved to be a real hardship for Diderot, who discussed his concerns with visitors like Rousseau. Once released, he understood that, from now on, he needed to be more careful; he had learned his lesson.

But he did not give up. He wrote a second letter, *Lettre sur les sourds et les muets* (Letter to the Deaf and Mute), which was a polemic to support the Abbé de Prades who was accused of defending the natural religion (Nov. 1751). On one hand, the Enlightenment enterprise attracted more and more subscribers: one thousand with the publication of the first volume, April 1751, two thousand in February 1752 and more than four thousand in 1757. On the other hand, the enemies of the *Encyclopedia* were numerous and powerful. Already in 1752, after the publication of the second volume, a decision of the Royal Counsel forbids the work.

However publication did not cease and neither did the problems. For example, volume seven with its article "Geneva" written by d'Alembert caused the most significant disagreement with Rousseau. One could find more and more pamphlets against the *Encyclopedia* on the market. Among them, the newspaper, *Mercure de France*, published an amusing article in October 1757 under the title *Avis Utile* (Useful Advice). The author tells the story of primitive savages, the Cacouacs, a tribe that does not respect anything... the only creatures in nature who do evil for the pleasure of it. Cacouac would become a nickname for the Encyclopedists. Montesquieu, Voltaire and d'Alembert were called Cacouacs.

Then, in the same year (1757), came the criminal attack against the king called "L'attentat de Damiens". Damiens stabbed Louis XV, who was not seriously wounded. The philosophers of the *Encyclopedia* however were accused as the real criminals because, claimed its critics, the author's words had inspired this nefarious assault on the sovereign.

Another problem was actually finding a way to have the work published. In the mid 18th century, the legal printing of books depended on "privilege", or in other words, on a license, which had to be signed by the king and which indicated his permission for each specific work. This was the case in all countries in Europe except England and Holland. The State Counsel of the King suspended the privileges granted to the *Encyclopedia* and offered the reimbursement of their money to the subscribers. No one ever claimed the reimbursement.

The king certainly could not put his seal on what was considered a subversive work. The Jesuits were accusing the Encyclopedists of encouraging freedom of thought, and the king had to compromise with them. Also the Pope Clement XIII put the *Encyclopedia* on the Index (list of prohibited books) in 1759 and ordered all Catholics who owned the work to have it burned by a priest or they would have to face excommunication.

Voltaire began to worry and convinced d'Alembert to give up this "damned work." Diderot found himself alone. Yet he refused to deceive the subscribers and to ruin the booksellers. Le Breton, afraid, started to censor the texts. Diderot would discover this disaster only in 1764.

However, the work continued underground. In fact, the king was quietly supporting the Encyclopedists to continue what they were doing. To suppress the *Encyclopedia*, the king put in charge a man who was actually

devoted to its principles, Malesherbes. He was one of the enlightened aristocrats convinced that the system of privileges had to change.

V. THE COMPLETED WORK

In 1772, the work was finally completed: twenty years of work, seventeen volumes of text and eleven volumes of engravings. That means 72,000 articles, 16,500 pages, or about 950 pages for each volume, a total of more than 17 million words. As soon as the work was printed, the publication sponsored by Le Breton was sold out.

It was the very earliest commercial best-seller of modern times and it did change the world. The *Encyclopedia* would be printed in Geneva, Lucques, Livourne. A tremendous success for this period. By 1789, almost 25,000 sets had been sold throughout Europe, three quarters of a million books, an extraordinary figure for the time. Very often, the *Encyclopedia* would be compared to a veritable war machine, intended to spread the philosophy and the new ideas of the Enlightenment.

The project was completely managed, supervised and organized by Diderot, even when he had to spend four months in jail. Diderot wrote more than 5,000 of the articles himself. Many contributors worked for no monetary compensation; among them, the Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt who wrote 17,000 articles. Louis-Jacques Goussier was the genius draftsman who did more than 900 of the plates, spending time in paper mills, ironworks and glassworks watching the craftsmen; one month alone observing artisans making anchors.

As many as 300 men and one (anonymous) woman collaborated on writing the articles. They came from varied backgrounds: 15 % were doctors, 12 % administrative officials, 8 % were priests, 4 % nobles, 4 % merchants.

VI. THE « FRONTISPIECE »

Before addressing the content of the *Encyclopedia*, the importance of the frontispiece merits attention. The illustration of the first page is of great interest. The picture illustrates a Greek temple, the sanctuary of Truth, represented by a woman wrapped in a veil who disperses the clouds. All these representations are allegories.

On the right of the central figure, Reason and Philosophy tear away her veil, and on the left, one can see Imagination trying to crown Truth; Theology is kneeling down in front of Truth; and Memory and History flank her. Below are Geometry, Astronomy and Physics, and below them Optic, Botanic, Chemistry and Agriculture look up. To the left of Truth, the different kind of poetry: epic, dramatic, satiric and pastoral, also regard the figure of Truth, and at the very bottom, the Arts and Professions related to Science, and the Arts of Imitation: Music, Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, also venerate the central image.

VII. GOALS/CONTENT OF THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

The content of this work is called *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et métiers*. The first mission of the *Encyclopedia* was to disperse the clouds of ancient superstition. The book contains common words of the language as well as proper names, accompanied by lexical descriptions and definitions. Its purpose as described in the preface written by d'Alembert is to exhibit as far as possible the order and the system of human knowledge. *Dictionnaire raisonné* (descriptive dictionary) of the sciences, the arts and trades, it contains the fundamental principles and the most essential details of every science and every art, whether liberal or mechanical.

The Encyclopedists trace this intellectual revolution back a century and a half to Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England. Bacon was the first to recognize the necessity of experimental physics. He said that it was not enough to observe nature, but that one has to put nature to question. His approach has become the basis for the scientific method.

On the first page, one notices the letter "A" and its ancestors, the Greek *alpha* and the Hebrew *aleph*. Any reader can see that something has changed. The ancient scholars would explain the sound of the letter "A" by the fact that it constitutes the first sound of the baby boy in the syllable *ma* found in the Latin adjective *masculus*. A girl baby, according to the scholars, uttered an *e* sound coming from the root of *femina*. Diderot, who wrote most of the "A" article, disregarded the statement of the old authorities and simply wrote "babies make different vowels sounds, depending on how wide they open their mouths."

Still under the letter "A", Diderot had to deal with the famous *Agnus Scythicus*, also called the Scythian lamb. For centuries, ancient scholars and botanists believed in the existence of a remarkable plant shaped like a sheep and its importance as the source for curing the spitting of blood.

The authors devoted twenty pages entirely to the word «âme» meaning soul, but they also devoted fifteen pages to the machine manufacture of stockings, an important product of the time, showing in text and engravings all eighty-six steps in the process. The human soul and the stockings were treated on the same level of seriousness.

One can also find how to construct a coal mine, to cast an equestrian statue, fight a duel, make soap or analyze human emotions. More surprising, one learns how to perform a bladder operation after having restrained the patient in a special surgical chair. Theory was mixed with practical application.

CONCLUSION

As d'Alembert and Montesquieu said, the *Encyclopedia* was a necessary work. The number of subscribers is the best proof of it. A necessary book for a changing and new society, more active and breaking with the old principles. It is the beginning of a new era.

Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu and many of the other philosophers were famous, but it was Diderot who dominated the 18th century. Voltaire called him «a fine genius to whom nature had given great wings... and had no equal in his age». Diderot's mind was open to every thought and influence. Foremost among his ideas was that psychology should be studied empirically; that the foundation of ethics is essentially social; that the ethical as well as the religious creeds vary in different forms of society and that none of them can claim to be the best; that tolerance therefore must reign everywhere; and that the greatest riddle of all is not so much the existence of God, but the universe itself. All his ideas would receive wide acceptance in Europe in the 19th century. Diderot opened the way for the future by creating new values and became the link between the humanists of the 16th century and Darwin, Claude Bernard, Pasteur and Edison. His influence spread far over Europe all the way to the New Continent.

Diderot was the real initiator of modern thought. We have to give him credit for the rise of liberty, universal suffrage, freedom of the press. Opening the pathway for progress in the modern world, his *Encyclopedia* is a great gift to humanity.

American revolutionaries had imbibed the intellectual discourse of the *Encyclopedia*. Benjamin Franklin was acting in its spirit. Jefferson was following its rules when he didn't Subscribe to the explanation for the deluge and took time to calculate the moisture suspended in the atmosphere to prove that with this water condensed, the oceans still would not rise to the top of the mountains.

Some may question what the second reason was for choosing the subject of Diderot. A second reason was the discovery of an original copy of Diderot's *Encyclopedia* in Hamilton Library. This original set of all volumes was purchased by the Library in 1980, for a modest price from a Dutchman. The copy is in excellent condition and just beautiful to see and to touch, but only with special white gloves! Anyone who may be interested in the work of Diderot should visit this unique jewel available in the University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library.

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MISS LIBERTY HAS AN ORGASM

Tia Ballantine, *Department of English*

ABSTRACT

Ballantine's "Miss Liberty Has an Orgasm" is one section of *Spring Loaded*, a novel that follows the adventures of two rather crazed artists and their young child as they migrate from the frantic streets of the downtown New York art scene back to Hawai'i, the ancestral homeland of the father, a descendent of a *kahuna kuni*.

Using a stripped-down rhythm and visually evocative prose, *Spring Loaded* addresses unresolved cultural tensions, drawing conflict from the landscape and tangential events. By the end of the narrative, it is evident that perhaps there is no resolution, but also that resolution may not be necessary. Against the fire-cracker red of a Honolulu New Year celebration, the story fades into a final image of a hill of mica dust a continent away.

"This is what I use for ammo."

Joe reaches into his pocket and pulls out a tampon. Holding the black powder pistol in one hand and the tampon in the other, he uses his teeth to strip the paper from the cardboard tube, his tongue to pull the paper into his mouth and his thumb to release the tampon into the palm of his hand. It lies there—a motionless tadpole bleached white. Kicked from water, dead on demand. Night sky burns with exploding rockets. Fountains of red, white and blue sparks dripping to roof tops. Tonight all New York celebrates Lady Liberty's release from bondage. No longer dingy, cracked or broken, she stands revealed in magnificent splendor.

I can't tell the difference, although from a rooftop miles away, I don't expect to see polished brass.

"So, now what? You going to pack that baby in the barrel and blow it into the bleeding sky?"

"We'll know we're successful if we get a thunderstorm."

"Maybe it will come back to earth transformed to emerald green."

"Fuck you, Clare, this isn't painting. This is orgasm."

"We've done this one, Joe. You think I don't know about orgasm? What, it's only a male gun thing? Shit, Joe, give it up. I have orgasms when I paint, orgasms when I look into eyes. I know orgasm in my flesh, Joe. I'm a fucking Reichian. Orgasm can sit in front of thinking—and sinks to bone. Life depends on it. And not only do I know orgasm, Joe, but I know orgasm and menstruation. You know when I have multiple orgasms? When I'm menstruating. There's a little piece of info I bet you didn't have. So, fuck you, too."

"You want to try?"

"I'm not menstruating."

Clare sits on the edge of the roof. A huge rocket explodes overhead, a canopy of intensely white shivering sparks answered by green smaller rockets hissing in rapid succession two blocks away.

"So, shoot your load, Joe. The sky's in multiple orgasm tonight, and she'll need a few tampons at the end."

No one has paid any attention to earlier broadcast warnings about the illegality of shooting rockets from rooftops. No part of the sky blinks free. Everywhere spark waterfalls appear, collapse and reappear as color echoes and drains. Dying smoke puffs brilliant pink and green. She likes this. Noise, anarchy, exuberance. No way out. Nothing protects anything. It's a stew easily swallowed, heat running down her throat.

Packed shoulder to shoulder across the roof, friends fall laughing against one another. With shiploads of monster rockets arriving on the Brooklyn docks from China, the city promised a massive display of fireworks. No one wants to miss this one, but I wonder if the main event can top the preliminaries. This light painted sky is enough for me.

Clare looks up and sees a young woman with uncanny balance, walking the ledge of the elevator shaft.

"Barry, who the hell is that up there? Tell her to come down. The last thing I want tonight is for someone to catapult off the roof."

"It's Kapuahilihili. Leave her alone, Clare. She's a dancer. She thinks with her body. She knows what she's doing, and she needs to be on the edge of sky right now."

"Thanatos, Barry. She's flirting with death."

"Look around you, baby. That's the nature of the night."

He touches her arm, reminds her of necessary distance.

Not everybody lives in the same place.

Last year, on a quieter day with heat and sun, Kapuahilihili's father had sat with them on the roof. No one said much. Keaokapu wanted sun on his arms, the wind to shed across his back. The days that passed had made him thinner. The blue between his ribs was a deeper shade, Clare thought, but that may have been because his skin had veered to yellow.

Look, man, he said, can I borrow your Kamakau? I can't believe I never read him, but I have to now. I need to know more. I can't believe they never taught us any of that. It was *our* land, *our* history, *our place*, Barry, and no one even told us these books existed.

When Keaokapu stares, his eyes take out distance.

Sure, man, sure. Borrow the Kamakau. Take the Kumulipo, my Malo, too. You gotta read Malo. He packs a lot into his book. You have to work hard to sort it out.

Sitting there quietly, spilling words onto each other, they looked past the harbor until Jasmine arrived. Jasmine changed the pace of any room, even one without walls. He knew how to expand sky, walked on his toes, and refused to stay still. When his body wasn't moving, his mouth was. He was ceaseless.

Jasmine came bounding onto the roof, and Keaokapu lifted his chin in the direction of Jasmine's shout, his face catching the sun in flat planes suspended across bone. Keaokapu's skin was stretched so tight that every bone shone blue through the parchment cover—an x-ray penciled black. Chemotherapy had removed most of his hair, and what was left he had let grow long. Black hair lay on wind, thin banners pointing out to sea, eels escaping from his brain.

Headless snakes snapped to an electric sky.

Keaokapu was the only person Clare had ever known who stopped Jasmine in his tracks.

No one said anything for quite some time. Finally Keaokapu stood, put his arms on Jasmine's shoulders, and leaned his face into his, cheeks pressed and noses catching each other's breath.

Welcome, brother, he said. I hear you are the man responsible for training the midwives who made certain our Kailani made it to this side. Mahalo. Mahalo a nui.

"I don't know if this is going to help, but we can try."

Jasmine opens a leather pouch and removes a hard-shelled plastic box. When the top is lifted, acupuncture needles spark the sun.

"We're going to try to open the energy paths of your body. Sort of create a secondary system, an assistant if you will, to help with the process of chemotherapy. Placing the needles doesn't hurt, but you should be as relaxed as possible. Try to find the most comfortable position you can."

Beginning at the wrist and moving upward to the neck, Jasmine inserts the needles. Finding places near each ear, he continues down the other arm.

"Good."

By the time Jasmine is finished, Keaokapu is a strange prickly creature with antennae to another world. He closes his eyes, stops talking and puts both hands flat on his knees. Jasmine continues his nervous chatter, but Keaokapu doesn't answer. He is removed. As his breathing slows, his muscles, perfectly visible under paper-thin skin, melt. Thinking he's asleep, Clare wonders if she should go downstairs and get an umbrella, or a tarp. Something to block the sun.

She looks across the harbor at sailboats circling Miss Liberty, flies to rotten meat. (I don't think of the light flashing on the water as reflection, but as someone slicing waves from below.) Clare feels it on her back.

One after another, the needles in Keaokapu's arm start to bend, lying down in the same direction as if a flood had left a field of meadow grass lying on the dirt, waiting for sun to raise it full again. Jasmine holds his head. Barry keeps his hands in front of him, and Clare looks past.

When the last needle collapses against Keaokapu's skin, Jasmine pulls the first one out and lays it on the roof's edge. He places the second one next to the first, until they all lie there, exact replicas one of another, perfect ninety degree angles, precisely and sharply bent. He picks up one and holds it into sun, tries to bend the angle back to straight. Each attempt is resisted by the angle. The needle is permanently bent.

Keaokapu looks at Jasmine and smiles.

Sorry, man, he says, sorry about the needles. I guess I am already on it.

Kapuahilihili has one hand flat against the narrow edge wall of the elevator shaft and one leg stretched to the back. With her white leotards, she is a fragile flower thread, the pistil of a blond crocus. Clare knows she means to turn a cartwheel on the ledge above the street. She hears Kapuahilihili's voice spring loud, talking to her dead father on the west bound wind. Because she ran in circles around his legs when she was small, Keaokapu used to tease her, calling her Kapuahiohio. A whirlwind he could not stop. Now, she wants her legs in wind. He is too early gone.

Joe holds his pistol above his head and pulls the trigger. The flaming tampon shoots an arc above the roof; it's black before it hits the ground. The harbor statue shudders red, lit by sparking chrysanthemums larger than Manhattan's tip and wider than the harbor width. One fades, another blooms. Winding out, Kapuahilihili turns and turns again, flips backwards on the roof, hands straight arrows to the sky.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AS THE ALLEGORY OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN ANNA BANTI'S *ARTEMISIA*

Alana Bell, Department of English

ABSTRACT:

A highly fictionalized portrayal of seventeenth-century Italian painter, Artemisia Gentileschi by a twentieth-century narrator, Anna Banti's 1945 text *Artemisia* involves a complex exploration of autobiographical processes. Several types of autobiographical act are portrayed in the text, each suggesting something about autobiography as a genre. *Artemisia*, then, can be seen as a type of meta-autobiography, an autobiography of the act of writing about oneself.

In many ways Anna Banti's *Artemisia* seems to be a novel. It is a depiction of seventeenth-century painter Artemisia Gentileschi by a twentieth-century narrator who writes at the time of the Second World War. That Artemisia is an historical figure does little to detract from the novelistic nature of the text since much of the documentation of Artemisia's life is highly fictionalized. Though this fictionalization could cause Banti's text to be considered "historical" or "biographical" fiction, such a classification is problematic because of the autobiographical contextualization or "pact" that Banti provides in the preface and because of the inclusion of Banti herself in the narrative. These two textual elements are enough to prompt an examination of *Artemisia* as autobiography. Although it does not conform to rigid definitions of autobiography, *Artemisia* is comprised of a complex layering of autobiographical acts. This extreme self-consciousness regarding the autobiographical genre causes *Artemisia* to become a type of meta-autobiography, an autobiography of the act of writing about oneself.

The first and most obvious autobiographical layer in *Artemisia* is the outermost layer in which Banti identifies herself as one of the text's protagonists. *Artemisia* opens with the narrator sitting by the "rubble of [her] house" (4). Both the narrator's home and her manuscript "Artemisia" have been destroyed overnight by German mines. These narrative details follow the terms of the "autobiographical pact" set out by Banti in the preface.¹ Following Banti's identification in the text we are given an account of her attempt to cope with her ruined home and to rewrite her manuscript. What problematizes this narrative and makes it interesting in terms of autobiography is the alliance that Banti forms with the protagonist of the text she is writing. Over the next several pages, Banti weaves together her own voice and that of the long-dead Artemisia Gentileschi. The two women form a narrative team, handing the story off to one another when one is weak or the other feels particularly strong. In "The Veto of the Imagination: A Theory of Autobiography," Louis Renza writes that the conjuring of other characters within an autobiography is not unique. Renza suggests that "imaginative ramblings, digressions, 'visions,' reveries, [or] unusual or drawn-out depictions of other persons" represent an attempt by the writer to "evade at least temporarily, his displacement of himself through narrative and thus promote the monological appearance of his writing to himself" (286-87). According to Renza, then, Banti would be using *Artemisia* to avoid facing her own displacement through writing.

Considering Banti's loss of her home and her manuscript, however, it appears that her "self" has already been displaced. Deborah Heller explains the bond between the narrator and Artemisia as a more symbiotic relationship that helps to heal this displacement:

Artemisia appears in the first lines of the novel to offer her creator/resuscitator words of comfort ... She will help the narrator to reconstruct and even improve the story contained in her lost manuscript. At the same time, Artemisia's emergence from the ruins of war suggests the re-emergence of the writer's enduring cultural heritage, as an Italian woman and a woman in the face of the present destruction of her homeland ... (48)

Heller's explanation allows Banti to be working with the genre of autobiography rather than against it. Banti aligns herself with a female Italian predecessor who has experienced similar life disruptions. Through Banti's previous manuscript, Artemisia becomes a symbol of the pre-war Banti. By rewriting Artemisia, Banti is rewriting and restoring her self. Her alliance with Artemisia allows Banti to heal and to gradually retreat from the text, focusing attention on Artemisia and the second layer of autobiographical act.

Even as *Artemisia* gains a significant distance from both its subject and creator, it continues to portray the

creation and depiction of a self. Within the narrative, Artemisia is constantly involved in creating and recreating herself in an attempt to show people “who Artemisia is,” (26). The autobiographical act manifests itself in Artemisia’s adoption or refusal to adopt certain roles by which she attempts to represent herself in a particular way. These roles are often contrary to what Artemisia truly feels. When she returns to her husband in Rome she “[takes] pleasure in speaking with the Florentine accent she never normally used” (58). Despite her love for her husband, Artemisia leaves him because she feels she must “make a name for herself, this strange name that she had been given must become famous” (72). Artemisia’s attempts to portray herself as an artist become more desperate as she realizes that, because she is a woman, her artistic talent would be forgotten “were it not for her beauty” (86). In this section of the narrative, Artemisia becomes the text for her own autobiography. By showing Artemisia’s inaccurate self-representation, Banti emphasizes the fact that only by extra-textual information can the reader determine the reliability of any autobiographical narrative. Because they are without the information that Banti provides the reader about Artemisia’s “actual” feelings, other characters within the text are limited to the representation Artemisia provides.

Banti also shows that once the autobiography is written, it becomes a text beyond the writer’s control and is likely to be suspected and interpreted in ways that the writer did not intend. Despite Artemisia’s attempts to portray herself as a famous and reputable artist, she is continually “denied that intoxicating pleasure of admiring herself in the eyes of others” (105). As Renza suggests, “[t]o identify with or certify an arbitrary rendition of oneself leads at one extreme to hagiography and at the other to a fictive suspension of the writer’s distance from his written ‘I’” (282). In other words, the self is presented without fault, and since we know a faultless self is not possible, the autobiography loses its sense of authenticity. Artemisia’s need to “justify herself” against the image projected of her during her rape trial and her subsequent preoccupation with representing herself as a great female painter make it impossible for her to reveal vulnerability. Consequently, it becomes evident to her “readers” that in attempting to present an impossibly perfect self, Artemisia is involved in an act of fictional representation. Artemisia’s only success at presenting herself as a painter comes from the appreciation people have for her paintings. These paintings are Banti’s narrative device for presenting another layer of autobiographical act.

Artemisia’s paintings are widely recognized as self-representation. In “Sor Juana, Artemisia Gentileschi, and Lucretia: Worthy Women Portray Worthy Women,” Janice A. Jaffe suggests ways in which Artemisia’s life experience may have shaped the way she chose to portray Lucretia in her paintings (149-150). In *Artemisia*, Banti suggests that when painting *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, Artemisia “had looked in the mirror for the features of her heroine” (45). These assertions, however, do not specifically relate to autobiography as a genre, and at the most can be seen as allegories for autobiographical fiction. The painting that most specifically relates to autobiography is Artemisia’s *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting*. In *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art*, Mary Garrard describes Artemisia’s self-portrait as follows:

Artemisia presents herself as artist, engaged in the act of painting, accompanied by several, though not all, of the attributes of the female personification of painting as set forth in Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*. These include a golden chain with a pendant mask, which stands for imitation; unruly locks of hair, which symbolize the divine frenzy of the artistic temperament; and *drappo cangiante*, garments with changing colors, which allude to the painter’s skills. (338-39)

By taking this image one step further and suggesting Annella De Rosa as the subject for a real painting by Artemisia Gentileschi titled *Self Portrait*, Banti makes Artemisia’s painting an allegory for her own autobiographical text. Like Banti, Artemisia performs something of an “autobiographical pact,” titling the painting *Self Portrait* and portraying a woman painter. Also like Banti, Artemisia depicts her subject in the act of artistic creation. Finally, like Banti, Artemisia creates as her subject a hybrid of herself and another female artist.

An examination of the second portion of the title *Self Portrait and the Allegory of Painting* reveals even more about *Artemisia*. Since Banti uses Artemisia’s painting as an allegory of her own text and Banti’s text talks about not just writing but *autobiographical* writing, *Artemisia* can be seen as *Self Portrait as the Allegory of Autobiography*.² In the 1940s when Banti wrote *Artemisia*, literature, and autobiography specifically, was dominated and defined by men. Banti asserts herself as an artist by drawing on the life of a female artistic predecessor and affirms the validity of her innovative autobiographical form by echoing it with a similar form

of distorted self-portrayal that has become widely accepted as valid. *Artemisia* is an autobiography of the act of writing the self.

As meta-autobiography then, what does *Artemisia* say about the genre? I would argue that what *Artemisia* represents most is the art of autobiography. Banti expands a tightly defined and inflexible definition of autobiography by drawing attention to the subjectiveness and creativity involved in choosing how to portray the self.³ None of the portrayals of self in *Artemisia* comes close to representing the autobiographers' entire lives or personalities. Banti reveals nothing of her life outside of the time she is writing *Artemisia*. Within the narrative, *Artemisia's* shows her "readers" (the people to whom she represents herself) only what she wants them to see. Banti's *Artemisia* chooses these aspects of self carefully to construct a representation of herself in the role she wants to fulfill. *Artemisia's* self-portrait is not an accurate picture of what she looks like, but rather of what is important to her. Banti shows that there are as many ways of portraying a life as there are lives to be portrayed, that the chosen manner of portraying a self may change as the self changes, and hence that an accurate impression of a "total" self cannot possibly be gleaned from one representation.

Along with issues of autobiographical form, Banti addresses the concept of the "I". More than just about the writing of one's life, *Artemisia* is about writing one's life as woman, gaining strength through the sharing of artistic endeavors, and creating a new, stronger self through the autobiographical process. Banti creates an ontological union between herself and *Artemisia*. Later in the text this union even extends to Annella De Rosa. All are women who have experienced male violence and risen beyond that violence through the use of art. In this way, Banti's "I" is dependent upon the "I" of women in general. Despite what may traditionally be deemed appropriate for autobiography, in *Artemisia*, a text that is layered with autobiographical acts, Banti's "I" is a "we".

NOTES

- 1 Philippe Lejeune describes the autobiographical pact as the way in which the author identifies the protagonist and narrator of a text to be identical to the author signified on the cover.
- 2 In light of the self-reflexive nature of Banti's text, the way in which it occurs primarily in the present at the time of Banti's writing, and the thematic presence of painting and self-portraiture, it may be tempting to classify *Artemisia* as literary self-portrait, a genre defined by Michel Beaujour in *Poetics of Literary Self Portrait*. This, however, is not my intention, as to do so would be to limit the relevance of Banti's reflections about autobiography to the sub-genre of the self-portrait, and also to submit to a more tightly defined definition of autobiography itself.
- 3 Lejeune presents an elementary definition of autobiography as "[r]etrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality" (4).

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OTHELLO RECONCILED: A CALL FOR TOLERANCE IN LITERARY CRITICISM

David Simacek, Department of English

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to point out why it is neither necessary nor possible to resolve the tensions within the different reading of *Othello* and its arguably central theme of blackness as a sign of difference. Thus, the strategy applied here does not privilege any single approach to the play. Rather it seeks to show that seemingly mutually exclusive arguments might become fairly compatible once they are freed from some of the questionable tendencies involved in literary scholarship.

Othello may, indeed, end with precisely the scene of erotic black-white murder which has haunted the American mind all the way from *The Klansman* to *Native Son*, but its tonalities are different, since the whole notion of miscegenation had not yet been invented. The seeds are there, perhaps even the first sprouts, but only when fostered by "scientific" anthropology can the miscegenation-madness attain full growth.

(Leslie Fiedler - *The Stranger in Shakespeare*)

There is good reason, then, to interpret these Elizabethan stereotypes, which we might naturally think of as what I have called "racialist", as rooted far less in notions of inherited dispositions and far more in the idea of the Moor and the Jew as infidels, unbelievers whose physical differences are signs (but not causes or effects) of their unbelief.

(Anthony Appiah - "Race")

I find that the impact of the Africanist presence on white English subjectivity can never be fully understood if one focuses only on the texts (such as *Othello*) that are "about" blackness.

(Kim Hall - *Things of Darkness*)

The quotes above are fairly representative of the spectrum of approaches to the seemingly central theme of Shakespeare's *Othello*. Blackness perceived as a sign of difference is often seen as crucial to the plot of this play. On one side, there is Anthony Appiah and his notion of scientific racialism as it was developed in the 18th and 19th centuries. As his quote makes clear, he believes that throughout the periods of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Reformation it was the religious criterion of membership in a particular group that was of importance. Kim Hall, on the other hand, explicitly disagrees with Appiah¹ and asserts that "it is England's sense of losing its traditional insularity that provokes the development of 'racialism' as early as in the 16th century. Consequently, 'the preexisting literary tropes of blackness profoundly interacted with the fast changing economic relations of white Europeans and their darker 'others'" (3-4). Certainly, two such opposing views will result in distinctly different readings of *Othello*. Leslie Fiedler, although being closer to Appiah's point of view, does allow for the scientific racism "sprouts" in *Othello* and thus adds to the interesting variety of opinions. As a result, his position seems to allow for some flexibility within the circle of divergent interpretations based on different assumptions. The circularity of this scholarly "dialogue" does not necessarily have to be of a vicious nature. Nonetheless, I will argue that none of the participating parties can ever achieve an unconditional triumph.

This paper attempts to point out why it is neither necessary nor possible to resolve the above-mentioned tensions within the different readings of this play. Thus, the strategy applied here does not privilege any single approach to *Othello*. Rather it seeks to show that seemingly mutually exclusive arguments might become fairly compatible once they are freed from some of the questionable tendencies involved in literary scholarship. After dealing with the suggested problematic through the "critical lenses" of the scholars quoted above, this paper suggests other possible approaches to *Othello* as presented in the recent works of Julia Lupton and Eric Griffin.

The sentence I quoted from Hall's remarkable² *Things of Darkness* is the only reference to *Othello* in the whole book. She simply assumes that the play is about blackness. Instead, she is "concerned with just those 'shadows' and 'lines of demarcation'" - those that Toni Morrison analyzes in her *Playing in the Dark* - "rather than with more obvious Africanist presences" (114). By claiming that racialism begins to develop in England as early as the 16th century when, according to her, aesthetic concerns such as skin color and bodily appearance "become a semiotics of race" (5), Hall deliberately sets herself against Appiah, who introduced this concept only with regard to the 18th and 19th centuries. The following section will focus on her arguments in the chapter concerning the English travel narratives and cultural inscription within their discourse. Hall brings out a number of interesting examples of the anxiety English travelers expressed over the issue of bodily differences.

Moreover, commenting on their observations regarding the African continent, she notes the interrelations of the issues of difference in bodily appearance, religion, and the ways of life.

She quotes Sir John Mandeville's observation about the one-footed people of Ethiopia who can "go so fast it is a great mervaille." This foot is so large that "the shadow thereof coverth the body from Sun and raine when they lye upon their backs" (26). Hall seems to be right to suggest that "the use of Africa and blackness as signs of disorder is the first step in preparing for Europe's ordering and later exploitation of Africa's human and natural resources" (28). For instance, Leo Africanus, Hall points out, notes in his *A Geographical Historie of Africa* that the people of Hea "have great abundance of honey, which they use instead of ordinary food, but the wax they cast away, little regarding it, because they know not the value thereof" (45 - the modern transcription of Leo's narrative is used throughout this paper). By bringing in George Barne's description of John Lok's voyage to Guinea in 1544, Hall shows the way the travelers projected the values of western Christian society upon the African cultures. Barne's narrative regarding elephants is, indeed, a "lyrical praise" of the animals who "become almost European" (50):

...of all the beasts they are most gentle and tractable, for by many sundry wayes they are taught, and doe understand: insomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king, and are of quicke sense and sharpenesse of witt. When the male hath once seasoned the female, he never after toucheth her. ...If they happen to meete with a man in wilderness being out of the way, gently they will go before him, & bring him into the plaine way. (55-57 - R. Hakluyt)

Certainly, the Christian characteristics of these animals "were the attributes Europeans came to value in the perfect colonial subject" (51). Moreover, Barne's narrative, Hall informs us, inevitably slides into the instances of commodification of elephants throughout western history:

...one of the gates of Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the ivory gate. The whitenesse thereof was so much esteemed, that it was thought to present the natural fairnesse of mans skinne: insomuch that such as went about to set foorth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reproved by this proverb, Ebur atramento candefacere, that is, To make ivory white with inke. (51)

Hall concludes that "Barnes is struck by the ability to find white beauty in the midst of African darkness" (51) and it does not seem far fetched to say that it is the Christian tradition of the black and white dichotomy operating within his discourse.

Religious anxiety can also be sensed in Leo Africanus' treatment of the Gentiles in his section called "A summary discourse of the manifold Religions professed in Africa," which he begins by stating that "the Gentiles are of diverse sorts, for some of them have no light of God, or religion, neither are they governed by any rule or law" (377). Towards the end of this section he seems to be almost relieved when he says: "Now that we have declared the miseries and darkness of Africa, it remains that we set down that little light of true religion which there is..." (389). Once again, all these instances of different anxieties of the western travelers are very valuable examples of Hall's assumptions regarding the tropes of racialism developing in the 16th century. However, the discourse of the travel narratives is often hazed over by the lack of certainty concerning the intentions of their authors as well as by the uncertain range of the verbal implications being invoked. Hence, a very precise unbiased treatment of the individual sources is of utmost importance. With this in mind, it is interesting to look at some other materials Hall uses to support her argument.

One of Hall's sources is Sir Thomas Brown's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* first published in 1646. Although she admits that Browne is more of a cultural relativist than some other of his contemporaries, Hall accuses him of using a language "infused with value judgments related to color" (13). She quotes a part of Brown's passage about the inhabitants of "Europe in Candy, Sicily and some parts of Spaine" who are presumably of darker color yet "deserve not properly so low a name as Tawny" (13, Hall; 512 Brown). She also quotes his passage concerning the inhabitants of the "torrid zone" who "descend not so low as unto blacknesse" (13). Although the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) does not indicate that neither the word "tawny" nor "low" had solely derogatory connotations at this period,³ I tend to agree with Hall that the quotes above are instances of "value judgments related to color" (13). Nonetheless, given the nature of the task Brown undertakes in his book - its title being suggestive enough - , it is unfair to accuse his language of being *infused* with the above specified judgments. It certainly does not seem to be the case in his passage concerning the notion of beauty:

Now hereby the Moores are not excluded from beauty; there being in this description no consideration of colours, but an apt connexion and frame of parts and the whole. Others there be, and those most in number, which place it not only in proportion of parts, but also in grace of colour; But to make Colour essential unto Beauty there will arise no slender difficulty; ... (521)

A careful examination of Brown's piece indicates that its larger context does not permit one clear interpretation of his discourse to emerge.

In her argument on the above-mentioned work of Leo Africanus, Hall asserts that he “seemingly shares with his European audience a disdain for the darkest African peoples” and “introduces judgments that juxtapose negative assessments of their appearance with *disapproval* of cultural practices”. According to her, Africanus also “*complains* of the lack of civilization in the areas surrounding Libya” (30, my italics) and to make her point she quotes the following passage:

The residue of the said land was found out, being as then inhabited by great numbers of people, which lived a brutish and savage life, without any king, governor, common wealth, or knowledge of husbandry. Clad they were in skins of breasts, neither had they any peculiar wives: in the day time they kept their cattle; and when night came they resorted ten or twelve both men and women into one cottage together, using hairy skins in stead of beads, and each man choosing his leman which he had most fancy unto. (284-285)

Presented as such it is a truly disdainful observation. Nonetheless, it is a peculiar coincidence that Hall does not include in her quote the very next sentence which elevates the same people by saying that “war they wage against no other nation, neither are they desirous to travel out of their own country” (285). It remains open to question whether she does so because this information makes the tone of Leo’s observation less disapproving and opposing, though still complaining, or she simply feels the urge to keep the quotes to a particular length.

Furthermore, Hall continues to imply that later on “Leo indicts the inhabitants of Casena for their physical features” by saying that they are “extremely black, having great nose and blabber lips” (31). However, the examination of the full context enveloping this fairly brief note in Leo’s book suggests that his aim is a plain observation rather than accusation of any sort.⁴

This section has tried to support the proposition that throughout the 16th century travel narratives there often is an uncertainty about the mode of authorial intentions as well as about the terms under which it can be invoked. Similarly, as already mentioned above, this uncertainty also governs the range of verbal implications possible in this period. Thus, when working with such materials, it would seem to be desirable to use a less definitive discourse allowing for other points of view as well. An analysis of her treatment of Leslie Fiedler’s ideas suggests that Kim Hall apparently does not believe in this sort of courteous scholarly discourse.

Hall claims that “Fiedler’s *The Stranger in Shakespeare* is perhaps the best known example of a scholarship that insists on the importance of ‘difference’ or ‘Others’ but denies the racial politics of this presence”. She also accuses him of resorting to “complex verbal gymnastics to ‘prove’ that the black/fair dichotomy is far removed from the modern notions of race” (8). However, neither the passage quoted at the beginning of this paper nor its larger context of Fiedler’s chapter “The Moor as Stranger” deserve to be characterized as attempts to separate this dichotomy from its racial implications. By no means is it fair to say, as Hall does, that Fiedler “somewhat perversely asserts that the use of the word ‘fair’ as an antonym to ‘black’ is precisely what indicates that the language is not racialized” (8). Fiedler’s argument relies on the widely recognized database of the OED. For instance, one of the possible connotations of the word “complexion” in Shakespeare’s time was “the combination of the four humours of the body in certain proportion, or the bodily habit attributed to such combination” (OED, 726). In the light of this information, the nature of Fiedler’s discourse is much less dogmatic than Hall wants her readers to believe. The following passage is a fairly representative example of Fiedler’s carefully wrought rhetoric:

for Shakespeare ‘black’ does not *primarily* describe an ethnic distinction (though, of course, *Othello* is meant to be perceived as an African, thick-lipped as well as dusky-hued), but a difference in hue - and temperament - distinguishing from one another *even* what we would identify as members of the same white race. (171, my italics)

This is not to suggest that Fiedler’s discourse is without problems. For instance, throughout his piece he does not bother to touch upon the notoriously known and quoted scene of the first act regarding the “old black ram... tugging” a “white ewe” (1.1.90-1). Given the nature of his argument, this seems to be a serious drawback.

Hall finishes her footnote attack on Fiedler by pointing to “a welcome corrective of Fiedler’s approach” in Karen Newman’s essay “‘And wash the Ethiop white’: femininity and the monstrous in *Othello*” (8). However, a closer look at this essay shows that Newman’s rhetoric is also problematic. She argues that the commentators who are concerned with “the white man’s fear of the union of black man with white woman... occupy the rhetorical position of Roderigo, Brabantio, and Iago who view the marriage of *Othello* and Desdemona as against all sense and nature” (144). However, in order to make her point she chooses not to remain faithful to the context of the passage from which she extracts her “supportive” quote and presents it in the following manner:

I’ll refer me to all things of sense,
Whether a maid, so tender, fair, and happy,
Would ever have (to incur a general mock)
Run fro her guardage to the sooty bosom

Of such a thing as thou? (Newman, 144)

Newman leaves out a detail that might significantly change the meaning of Desdemona's father's complaint. She does not choose to quote Brabantio as saying:

tender, fair, and happy,
So opposite to marriage that she shunned
The wealthy curled darlings of our *nation*
Would ever have ... (Othello 1.2.67-70; my italics)

The reference to the "nation" makes Brabantio's speech somewhat less charged with the fear of miscegenation than Newman imagines it to be. In other words, while the idea of "nation" as a "racial grouping" is probably stronger than the one of "political unit" it is not reducible to either in this particular context.

Once again, this essay does not aim to dismiss the arguments of any of the scholars quoted above. Rather, in order to reach a productive compromise of some sort, it attempts to smooth out some of the sharp edges accompanying their discourse. Thus, in the light of this statement it should be obvious that this paper does by no means seek to exclude the presence of blackness in *Othello*.

At this point, then, it might perhaps be suitable to bring in an argument presented by Eldred Jones in his *Othello's Countrymen*. He claims that "by the time Shakespeare's *Othello* appeared ... in 1604, African characters of varying colours had become a familiar part of the London stage tradition". Jones goes on to say that there were two broad types to be distinguished. The first one, "whose blackness was generally emphasized in the text, was the villainous Moor" and the other one was "the Moor ... who was specifically referred to as the 'white Moor' or a 'tawny Moor'" and "whose blackness was not emphasized in the text". This 'white Moor' was usually portrayed as a "dignified oriental ruler, still capable of the cruelty credited to all Moors, but also capable of noble conduct" (86-7). Shakespeare, according to Jones used this background of stage tradition "very sensitively, exploiting its potentialities for suggestion, but at the same time moving away from the stereotypes" (87). This genius for originality, I suggest, is bound to be demonstrated in Shakespeare's reworking of his source for *Othello*.

The seventh novella from the third decade of G. B. Giraldi Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* (1565) is a rather straightforward literary work and its *primary* themes - love, jealousy, revenge, fear and justice of God - are fairly easy to trace. Nonetheless, the theme of "difference" between the Moor and Desdemona is present in it as well. When the Moor becomes unreasonably suspicious of his wife's constant pleading for the squadron leader - Shakespeare's Cassio - she defends herself by saying: "He hasn't done anything to deserve so much hatred from you. But you Moors are so naturally hot-tempered that every little thing provokes you to anger and revenge" (378). Later on, once the Moor is convinced that his wife is not faithful to him and his attitude towards her changes drastically she expresses her worries in the following manner:

I am greatly worried that I shall prove a warning to young women not to marry against their parents' wishes, and Italian ladies will learn by my example not to be linked in marriage with the kind of man who is separated from us by nature, Heaven itself, and an entire way of life. (382)

These are certainly interesting moments in the plot pointing to one of the themes of the novella, but they remain only passing comments that Cinthio does not develop any further. Nevertheless, it seems promising to contrast this particular aspect of the story in Cinthio's version against the London stage tradition. Given the originality of Shakespeare's approach as characterized by Jones, it would be surprising if Shakespeare would not alter this theme somehow while incorporating it into his play. The question, of course, remains as to how he goes about it.

In contrast to Cinthio's heroine, Shakespeare's Desdemona does not originally have any worries regarding her husband's jealousy as her conversation with Emilia clearly confirms:

D: Believe me, I had rather have lost my purse
Full of crusadoes; and but my noble Moor
Is true of mind and made of no such baseness
As jealous creatures are, it were enough
To put him to ill thinking.
E: Is he not jealous?
D: Who, he? I think the sun where he was born
Drew all such humors from him. (*Othello*, 3.4.25-30)

Her beliefs are in fact contrary to those of Cinthio's Desdemona, and she is convinced that "something, sure, of state, Either from Venice, or some unhatched practice/...Hath puddled his clear spirit..." (3.4.142-45). Even

after crying Othello accuses her of being "false as hell" she cries out: "Alas the heavy day!.../ Am I the motive of these tears, my Lord?" (4.2.42-45). She does not suspect Othello of being jealous and hopes that he considers her honest (4.2.67) even after his sorrowful speech:

... But, alas, to make me
A fixed figure for the time of scorn
... Yet could I bear that too, well, very well.
But there where I have garnered up my heart,
Where either I must live or bear no life,
The fountain from the which my current runs
Or else dries up - to be discarded thence! (4.2.55-62)

Even more interesting is Shakespeare's treatment of Desdemona's - Cinthio's heroine - statement concerning her "interracial" marriage. Not only does he alter the discourse of this statement, but he also puts it into the mouth of the villain Iago and thus shifts the moral authority of the condemnation:

"Ay, there's the point! As - to be bold with you -
Not to affect many proposed matches
Of her own clime, complexion, and degree,
Whereto we see in all things nature tends -
... I do not in position
Distinctly speak of her, though I may fear
Her will, recoiling to her better judgment,
May fall to match you with her country forms,
And happily repent" (3.3.244-54)

Here again the word "complexion" appears and its complex meaning makes the significance of Iago's speech less clear cut than some readers would like to have it. Given Shakespeare's well known passion for puns, it does not seem far fetched to detect some degree of his intention in using this ambiguous expression.⁵ Indeed, the issue of blackness in *Othello* is a complicated one that does not permit things to be easily resolved or dismissed. Many questions have to be asked from many angles of perception. Thus, to expect any straightforward answers to such questions would be ignoring the complexity of Shakespeare's well-recognized genius. However, a review of Shakespearean scholarship confirms that nothing of that sort is happening. There is a large body of work produced by a vast number of scholars who try to come to terms with the literary heritage of William Shakespeare.

Julia Lupton and Eric Griffin are such scholars. They take the discussion back to the spectrum of approaches to *Othello* and the theme of blackness. Specifically, Lupton and Griffin's articles operate in the part of the critical spectrum occupied by Appiah and his notion that Othello's character should be seen as based on essentially theological conception of his status of Moor as non-Christian. By allowing for the variety in the spectrum of possibilities followed by their well-grounded arguments, Griffin and Lupton weaken Hall's self-confident assumptions and prove her attack on Appiah unnecessary.⁶

Approaching *Othello* through the "long tradition of anti-Jewish thought in Western historiography" (73), Lupton's "*Othello* Circumcised: Shakespeare and the Discourse of Nations" follows up on the thesis of Etienne Balibar's "Is There a Neo-Racism?". Lupton relates to Balibar's idea of anti-Semitism - a prototype of racism without the pseudo-biological concept of race - to argue that "*Othello* provides a canonical articulation of this protoracism insofar as the play fashions the Muslim in the image of the Jew according to the protocols of Pauline exegesis" (73).

She goes on to claim that such a division of the nations - Greek, Jew, and barbarian - "reorients the current color-based approach to the play in which the scandal of 'monstrous' miscegenation inherited from the nineteenth-century racial Imaginary has come to govern Othello's economy of difference" (74). After applying this particular agenda to a number of key passages in the play, she closes her argument by analyzing Othello's suicide speech:

"... Set you down this:
And say besides that in Aleppo once'
Where a malignant and turbaned Turk
Beat a Venetian and traduced the state,
I took by th' throat the circumcised dog
And smote him, thus" (5.2.361-66).

Lupton asserts that it is the circumcision - "the trait identifying the object of his scorn" - that Othello turns to himself "as the very means of death, a final stroke that cuts off his life by turning the Turk into and onto himself" (83).

Compared to Lupton, who accounts for Iago's diabolical character by putting it in context with religious rather than racial traits, Eric Griffin approaches the whole issue in terms of national identity. In his "Un-sainting James: Or, *Othello* and the 'Spanish Spirits' of Shakespeare's Globe" Griffin does not rely on the obvious connections as they present themselves in the play. Rather, he tries to unravel its synchronic relations within the given historical situation of European politics. In his painstakingly thorough research he argues for the significance of *Othello*'s cultural codes that point out to Spain and the anxiety over the "Spanishness" within Elizabethan England. The following excerpt from a ballad - most likely written by Shakespeare's near contemporary - is one example of the copious evidence Griffin provides to support his claim:

...Now upon the Isle they stayde,
The luckelesse lotte befell,
By a false Spaniard's wicked ayde,
Which I am now to tell.
He was the Antient to the Moore
For he so closely ,
He held him honest, trusty, sure,
Until he found him nought.
Iago was the monster's name. (67)

The ballad seems to have been written upon the play in 1625 and as Griffin asserts, its author "reads the codes of 'Hispanity' in sensible and obvious manner" (92). Moreover, Griffin's argument makes very convincing connections between the names of the villains in *Othello* and the ones of two important figures of the Spanish nationhood discourse:

Rodrigo, the Christian name of 'Ruy' Diaz de Bivar, *El Cid Campeador* - the epic hero of Iberian culture; and Iago - which Shakespeare surely derived from *Santi-Iago*, the patron saint of Spain - who intervened in the battle of Clavijo in 844 ... , and who was shortly to become known across the globe on 'grounds/Christen'd and heathen' (1.1.29-30) as Saint James Slayer of Moors. (68)

Such an observation brings in a remarkably sound justification of Roderigo's and especially Iago's villainous behavior assigned to him by the English dramatist.

This paper has attempted to support the proposition that the tendencies in the field of literary criticism that attempt to resolve the numerous tensions surrounding literary works do not present the most promising direction to be pursued. The issue of blackness - perceived as a sign of difference - in William Shakespeare's *Othello* has been used to argue that less competitive critical approaches to the play may lead to a productive reconciliation that enriches all participating parties. Such a call for tolerance seems to be only appropriate since neither the discourse of the play nor the historical one enveloping it allow for creating an explicitly unified reading of it. The desire to discover and advocate such a reading - having only one specific agenda in mind - inevitably restricts the polysemic potential of the play.

NOTES

- 1 "While I disagree with Appiah," claims Hall "that racialism began in the eighteen century, I find his term useful because it suggests a way of talking about notions of human difference that have political and social effects and that are different from more institutionalized forms of racism" (4).
- 2 Even though some of Hall's methods of research are questioned later on in this paper, it should be acknowledged that her book provides a remarkably rich source of information regarding the issue of darkness in the Renaissance period.
- 3 According to the OED the expression "tawny coloured" referring to people was used as early as 1572 and frequently ever after but no specific derogatory connotation is indicated. Similarly, the OED shows that although the word "low" was used to refer to something or somebody of inferior quality as early as in 1225, the earliest usage referring to human races was recorded only in 1859. For an argument supporting this view see Eldred Jones' *Othello's Countrymen* (86-88). Part of Jones' argument is discussed later on in this paper (11).
- 4 The section *Of the kingdom of Casena* reads: Casena bordering eastward upon the kingdom last described, is full of mountains, and dry fields, which yield notwithstanding great store of barley and mill-feed. The inhabitants are all extremely black, having great noses and blabber lips. They dwell in most forlorn and base cottages: neither shall you find any of their villages containing above three hundred families. And besides their base estate they are mighty oppressed with famine: a king they had in times past whom the foresaid Ischia flew, since whose death they have all been tributary unto Ischta.
- 5 Patricia Parker's *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetorics, Gender, Property* provides an original approach to Shakespeare's rhetorics and the usage of metaphors.

- 6 Referring to Appiah, Hall asserts that the "assumption that the religious difference of 'Moors' is the primary threat to English culture ... is even more perturbing when it comes from someone who would be expected to think more critically about the problem" (13).

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RE-ENVISIONING ARGUMENT: WRITING WITH ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO POWER

Patrice M. Wilson, Department of English

ABSTRACT

Shifting from teaching to a learning-centered institution, which the university where I work now has as one of its goals, requires that professors and administrators consider re-examining the ways we teach argument at the college level. Rogerian argument, developed from the work of Carl Rogers; Peter Elbow's "believing game"; and Catherine Lamb's negotiation/mediation strategies should also be taught in college classrooms, in addition to the traditional situations in the global society that is evolving all around us. Power differentials need to be brought out into the open considered in the use of argument as well, since the alternative types of argument mentioned above try to level positions of power through understanding of the other. Students and teachers could experience a broader view of argument as well as a broader and more complexitized view of the teaching/learning situation in college classrooms.

The institution where I have worked for the last five years began as and has considered itself a teaching institution for the past three decades. Lately our Vice President and Academic Dean suggested that perhaps there should be a shift in the vocabulary with which we have been describing our university, from a teaching institution to a learning one. With a shift in vocabulary comes a stronger emphasis on learning and students rather than on teachers and teaching. This concern, I believe, offers us a great opportunity to examine our purposes and attitudes toward the realignment of power, not only in our classrooms as teachers but also in the way we teach the dominant form of academic writing, the argument.

The argumentative process as defined historically by Aristotle is based on the ability of certain men (neither women, nor slaves nor other minorities, nor "outsiders" of any kind) to wield power within their polis, to dominate and rule their own society. This creates what is called monologic argument, the kind that we academicians know how to write and that we generally try to teach our students. In the words of two writing instructors:

Writing teachers widely recognize that culturally diverse students who succeed in the U.S. University do so because they have been successfully socialized into the Western argumentative discourse. This socialization often occurs at the expense of students' culture-specific ways of interacting with reality. An emphasis on teaching argument tends to render multicultural students monocultural, an end few of us would celebrate. (De and Gregory 119)

As we re-examine our teaching institution's orientation and consider learning-centered classrooms, we have to re-examine our notions of power, not only in the classroom but also in the world at large. Our university boasts a student population from over ninety countries as well as from Hawaii and the mainland. These young people bring their understandings of their worlds with them and will take the skills and knowledge they acquire here back with them to these worlds. With globalization and international relations, they will need skills and knowledge that are very different from those of Aristotle. For the most part their audiences will not be academic. For a large number of them, their cultures set up a less Aristotelian type of communication in the first place. It seems that monologism and monoculturalism are the complete opposites of what we do try to celebrate in general, in particular at a university like ours; indeed, dialogism and multiculturalism are keys to what we are and what we are becoming at our university.

And yet so many of us remain steadfast in our belief in and teaching of the Aristotelian structuring of argument as if it were the only as well as the most desirable construct for communicating disparate ideas or differing opinions. For the multicultural world I believe we should consider other alternatives, such as Rogerian argument, Peter Elbow's "believing game," and Catherine Lamb's negotiation/mediation strategy that she feels goes a step "beyond argument" (195).

We all understand how the Aristotelian argument has had its place in academic discourse. Not only is it time-honored, for many and in many situations it is effective. The Euro-American traditional argument is used to train individuals to confront opposing ideas head-on because the assumption has been that there is an equal power differential between the two opponents, usually before an audience of equally empowered individuals of

the same polis. According to Lamb, the aim was dialogic in this sense (198). In the democratic setting, the purpose of airing differences and allowing many points of view to be heard in order to reach consensus is certainly a valid one. But the potentially confrontational nature of this type of argument, although acceptable under certain circumstances, is no longer the only method of argument we should be aware of, or teach. It seems to me the three other methods that I have mentioned, rooted in two different theoretical bases, may make more sense to teach now and in the future.

The first alternative argument strategy is derived from Carl Rogers' person-based psychological and psychoanalytical theories which led to the development of what has been called Rogerian argument. Richard Young, Alton Becker and Kenneth Pike, with their 1970 composition text, *Rhetoric: Discovery and Change*, pursued this idea in order to define argument more broadly, to add to and enhance knowledge of traditional argument. They explain three types of rhetorical strategies other than the Aristotelian: the Pavlovian, which stresses responses to stimuli; and the Freudian, which stresses the understanding of previously unconscious preconceptions about a subject; and the Rogerian, which stresses threat reduction and open communication. The Aristotelian, Pavlovian, and Freudian theories, Young, Becker and Pike point out, "...share a common goal—the control of one human being over another". They also show that the traditional Aristotelian assumption is that people "can be swayed by reasonable means" (7). The word "swayed" seems to have a negative connotation for the authors as it implies the control that persuasion seeks to wield over others; in any situation in which control is a goal, there is a confrontational aspect that cannot be ignored. The control factor changes each of the above strategies of logical reasoning, punishment, and the elimination of delusions into manipulative and threatening encounters between and among people. We need to expose people to less confrontational, less "I know you need to change and here's why" approaches to the exchange of opposing or conflicting views. The assumption in any argumentative situation is that people do have these kinds of views and that they might, in fact even should, "butt heads" with their opponents. We need to get away from those kinds of models, since rhetorical situations are often metaphors for human relations.

Rogers' alternative strategy of reducing threat is based on the belief that "man [humankind] has free will, but his ability to consider alternative positions is limited if he [sic] feels threatened...[in Rogerian argument] the goal is thus not to work one's will on others but to establish and maintain communication *as an end in itself*" (Young, Becker and Pike 8, their italics). It is this final aspect of the Rogerian argument that makes the most sense to me. It seems that an honest attempt to reduce threat has the effect that is most humane and most desirable because in the process both sides really listen, or at least begin to listen, to each other. As Young, Becker and Pike observe, this may outdo traditional argument "in dyadic situations that involve strong values and beliefs" (274)—exactly the types of situations we can expect in what Mary Louise Pratt calls the "contact zone" in education and elsewhere, "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relation..." (6). Young, Becker and Pike state that in "confrontations between young and old, Eastern and Western, white and black—in short whenever commitments to values are powerful and emotions run high—logical demonstration may seem irrelevant and conventional argument strategies suspect" (274).

Rogerian argument has three purposes and therefore requires three phases that I believe are much more suitable to use in current settings in education and in the world at large. Young, Becker and Pike describe the purposes of these phases as follow: "1) to convey to the reader that he is understood, 2) to delineate the area within which he [the arguer] believes the reader's position is valid, and 3) to induce him [the reader] to believe that he and the writer share similar moral qualities (honesty, integrity, and good will) and aspirations (the desire to discover a mutually acceptable solution)" (275). The first phase requires the type of understanding for which Rogers is well known. Rogers describes it as an "accurate, empathic understanding of the client's world as seen from the inside" (*On Becoming* 284). This concept means that a person must honestly set out to listen to the other party, to really hear what she has to say, to let it sink in and become a part of her/his knowledge. This differs from Young, Becker and Pike's description, which says that the first phase requires "getting inside the other person's skin and seeing the world through his eyes" (275), but I think the emphasis on almost merging some part of oneself with some part of another is similar. The implications for writing argument are that a person must engage in a period of time during which s/he contemplates the other's point of view *as the other sees it, for its own value in the eyes of the other*, before s/he can write the Rogerian argument.

Such empathic understanding is not easy to achieve. Rogers suggests that a person should try to practice restating "the ideas and feelings of the previous speaker accurately, and to that person's satisfaction" (*On Becoming* 332), to demonstrate effective listening. The first phase in Rogerian argument originates in this concept. Of course, this rule of repeating the other's point of view assumes that if a person does not accurately understand the other, the listening and repeating processes must also be repeated until the person actually does reflect the other's ideas. This cannot be done in writing, but at least the onus is put upon the writer to place her/himself into a listening relationship with the other as soon as possible in the process of argument, rather than establishing an "I want to convince you of this" (thesis) right away. In fact, the Rogerian approach avoids a direct statement of what the other is to be convinced of in its formulation. This less aggressive style is likely to appeal more to people of some non-European and non-American cultures, and others who may not agree with the arguer for strong reasons.

The second phase of Rogerian argument promotes the idea of acknowledgement and accommodation rather than the mainstay of traditional argument, refutation. The arguer shows understanding by acknowledging the validity of the opponent's argument. Again there is a non-confrontational "feel" in this phase. Young, Becker and Pike describe this process as an examination of the contexts in which an opponent's view is valid (276) rather than a focus upon those in which it is not valid (refutation). The reasoning behind this phase, according to the authors, is that "ignoring the contexts of statements leads opponents to make categorical denials or affirmations; positions in the argument then become polarized, and the chances for reaching an agreement are reduced" (277). We must remember that the term "agreement" means a mutually acceptable co-respondence with elements of the views of both sides coming together to create a solution satisfying (not just satisfactory) to each.

The third phase, including the assumption of similarity, is especially important for inter-cultural and interpolitical encounters. The arguer must honestly convey that s/he regards the other as a person of good will who has good intentions. This phase is related to Rogers' concept of "unconditional positive regard," which in psychotherapy requires that the therapist have a positive attitude toward the client as the person that s/he actually is (*On Becoming* 62), rather than the person whom the therapist believes s/he should or could be. The basis of this practice is also Rogers' belief that the human person is "constructive and trustworthy" if s/he is "functioning freely" (194). Some people may use this idea to judge others (Who functions freely and who does not? Who is free and who is not, politically, especially in other countries?), but what this concept means is that the arguer must acknowledge goodness in others so that they do not feel threatened. Beyond that the arguer must also establish real communication under admittedly disjunctive conditions. The arguer should not focus on adversarial conditions but on shared human conditions.

It is true that for these kinds of attitudes to be fully adopted, a person must have worked out most of her/his own personal problems relating to others, but the practice of these theoretically based and proved ideas fosters the solving of some interpersonal problems, such as trust, in the process of interaction. In other words, practicing these phases will actually lead to a better understanding of others in the person practicing them. Further, the approach to use of power is realigned as a tool for understanding, rather than toward what Catherine Lamb calls the "common sense" definition of power as "the ability to affect what happens to someone else" (199). In Rogerian argument, the arguer is interested in that "someone else" as an equal; s/he is not interested in lording over that "someone else" in order to control what happens to her or him, but is rather interested in establishing horizontal contact with the other person towards a sharing of control.

Finally, Young, Becker and Pike translate the three phases of Rogerian argument into the following four practical and well-thought-out steps that can be used for teaching it: "1) An introduction to the problem and a demonstration that the opponent's position is understood; 2) A statement of the contexts in which the opponent's position may be valid; 3) A statement of the writer's position, including the contexts in which it is valid; and 4) A statement of how the opponent's position would benefit if he were to adopt elements of the writer's position. If the writer can show how the positions complement each other, that each supplies what the other lacks, so much the better" (283). I would not use the word "opponent" because of its adversarial denotations and I also would not use the word "demonstration" in step one because of its "showy" quality. I would restate that first step to emphasize that the person must state the other's position as close to its actual meaning as possible. This practice would force the arguer to have spent some time in contact with the other and his point of view before he could begin his own side of the argumentative process. This step is important in

particular because of its potential to actually put into practice some of Rogers' concepts that are meant to foster open communication.

Over the years, Rogers' theories have directly influenced teachers of writing. In 1976, Maxine Hairston wrote a response to Rogers called "Carl Rogers' Alternative to Traditional Rhetoric" in which she agrees with his concepts and points out that "the implications of trying to be this fair-minded with one's opponent are staggering. Just the attempt... would be an invaluable exercise for any of us, but particularly useful for a young writer..." because many times they are not accustomed to accurately summarizing (375), even at the college level. Here she refers to Rogers' rule of re-stating and summarizing the opponent's point of view. She also points out that students need to learn "mutual respect" through use of "a tone of restraint, candor, and courtesy" (375).

Paul Bator's 1980 article cites Young, Becker and Pike's composition text as "one of the most influential" and the authors as "the principal proponents of a Rogerian based rhetoric" (427). He observes that instead of the singular, refutation-oriented intention of the speaker in Aristotelian argument, Rogers wants horizontal communication between the two parties, and he wants this communication to be a bipartisan and collaborative enterprise. He also says that Rogers' argument strategy can be used for the "non-adversarial" work of composition classes (430). I think that Bator limits the use of Rogerian argument in composition classes, and though he argues that it is an alternative form students can have at their disposal, the implications for use in multicultural or interpolitical conditions are ignored. He does admit, though, that "the goal of Rogerian argument is to induce change in both the reader and writer" (431). This is important in the forming of an accurate world-view for all of us. This accurate world-view must take into consideration the complex and variegated nature of the world which students must at least begin to understand.

Dene Thomas and Gordon Thomas envisioned "The Use of Rogerian Reflection in Small Group Writing Conferences" in 1989. Actually, the formation of small groups for this purpose is based on Rogerian theory, as he was the father of the encounter group (114). Indeed, Rogers' emphasis on the nonjudgmental group process also led to the belief that teachers should not use judgmental statements in assessing student writing, as Brian Johnston suggested in a 1982 article (50-53). In addition, the most renowned composition theorist, Peter Elbow, was affected greatly by Rogers. Johnston uses Elbow's book *Writing without Teachers* in his list of references for his article, and in the 1998 version of this book, Elbow acknowledges his indebtedness to Carl Rogers: "I probably got as many seeds of the believing game from Rogers as I got from Polanyi... I also feel indebted to Rogers' emphasis on the inherent human tendency, indeed hunger, to learn, to grow, and to seek complexity" (xxix). Many of us have read about and seen how a more horizontal understanding works better in group settings and in settings where hierarchical structuring has been the norm. Peter Elbow and other practitioners of his strategies have proved the effectiveness of non-hierarchical practices within the context of the teaching of writing. All of the above scholars explore or employ concepts stemming from Rogers' client-centered theories, as we have seen them restructured as the phases of Rogerian argument.

In spite of the great potential of Rogers's ideas, some responses to them may be considered somewhat watered down. Lad Tobin's "nonlinear co-authoring" exercise (128-40) seems to be only a playful nod at the idea of student-centered, less power-imbalanced approaches to writing, without any full commitment to changing to realigning the teacher's power or de-centering of the teacher's authority in his classes. A teacher who still actually runs a teacher-centered class may incorporate non-judgmental responses or small groups only as minor adaptations. Some of the phases of Rogerian argument can be realigned into a still basically Aristotelian one. Rogers mentions "transparency" in the learning facilitator in *Freedom to Learn* as part of realness (106-9, 126), and teachers may incorporate this principle as a way to read papers for conferences for writing classes (Walvoord 29-31), perhaps without really revamping the class into a truly learning-centered arena. In the restructuring of argument, then, it may yet be assumed that a person's biases will affect the actual restructuring. The purpose of setting up real human communication among all persons in the class, including but not emphasizing the teacher, does not seem to be taken as seriously as one would hope in these cases. But I think that even these applications are a start in the right direction; teachers who are doing some of these things need to take them a step further and understand how Rogers' ideas address the whole rationale for classrooms.

Consideration of situations in which there is a historically-based power differential, as is always the case in classes, and of Peter Elbow's widely read book brings us back to the idea of student-centered rather than

teacher-centered, or learning- rather than teaching-oriented, classrooms and pedagogies. These kinds of approaches to the educational setting require that the teacher give up his/her authoritarian role and listen more to the student regarding what s/he wants and needs to learn. In fact, it was Carl Rogers who wrote in 1969, four years before Elbow's *Writing Without Teachers* was first published, "Teaching, in my estimation, is a vastly over-rated function" (*Freedom* 103). He does not like education's focus on traditional teaching approaches, because it does assume that teachers (and administrators), "from our superior vantage point" (103) are deciding what others will know, in a fashion similar to those who assume that the other, in any argumentative situation, must change *her/his* mind. He coined the phrases "facilitation of learning" and "community of learners" (*Freedom* 105), concepts that are basic to his belief that traditional teaching can be effective only in environments that do not change. Since our environment is always in flux, teaching set bodies of knowledge or information will not prepare people to be learners (104), much less life-long learners. Rogers cites an example of a learning-centered classroom in New Zealand in which "slow-learning" Maori students were given the task of developing their own vocabulary list, rather than the teacher demanding that they learn her own pre-ordained one. This kind of learning situation requires a teacher who is "clearly and deeply committed to a philosophy of reliance upon self-direction and freedom as leading to the most significant learning" (80s 53).

The above example demonstrates the same kind of power realignment used in Rogerian argument. In traditional argument, the arguer assumes that s/he must enlighten the other party according to the arguer's view of the issue. In the teacher-centered classroom, the "argument" is that those others, the students, need to be enlightened by the teacher according to his/her point of view. In the alternatives to both of these scenarios, the others and their view are considered first; in the learning-centered setting, the actions of the teacher are framed by the others, as they see their own needs in present time. This is probably why it is so much harder to write a Rogerian argument than a standard one, and why it is harder to create a learner-centered classroom than a teacher-centered one. It is easier to take the reins, make a syllabus, follow through with it, cover material and then judge whether people adequately listened to us, rather than to judge the extent to which we listened to them and to their needs, through their initial and/or continual articulation of them. But we must remember that "sharing power and control with students...results in increased motivation, learning, and achievement" (McCombs & Whistler 48).

Furthermore, Rogers' client centered therapy has led to an opening up of channels of communication in education through a call for "realness in the facilitator of learning, prizing, acceptance and trust (between the two parties in the educational transaction), [and] empathic understanding" (*Freedom* 106-12). The first quality requires that the teacher accept all of her reactions and feelings as her/his own so that s/he does not impose them on students. The same applies to the argument situation, since the arguer must own her/his feelings enough to be able to step back and put those of the other first. The second condition is similar to unconditional positive regard and is also applicable to the argument situation in a manner described earlier. The third condition is also a requirement for the teacher/arguer to really hear without judgment what the student/other has to say. As a teacher one must have "a sensitive awareness of the way the process of learning seems *to the student*" (111, my emphasis). This is a tall order, but with practice these three conditions can be established in classrooms. Thomas and Thomas note that through use of Rogerian principles in small group conferences the students become motivated to teach themselves (116). This, too, is a desirable effect in learning-centered classrooms.

Elbow further questions very carefully the confrontational/threat aspects of Western argument in *Writing Without Teachers* (mentioned earlier). In his elaboration upon what he calls "the believing game" (also mentioned earlier) and "the doubting game," he refers directly to traditional argument (the doubting game) as "the intellectual enterprise" (147). The doubting game, according to Elbow, "seeks truth by seeking error. Doubting an assertion is the best way to find error in it" (148). Finding error in the other's argument is part of what constitutes the threatening element of traditional argumentation, as we have seen, and the more an other has invested in a view, emotionally, spiritually, or intellectually, the more threatening an attempt to puncture it will be. The attempt to shoot holes in an other's argument is exactly what Elbow says the doubting game is all about: "You can doubt better by getting the assertions to battle each other...They are in a relationship of conflict" (148). One is reminded of war here.

On the other hand, in Elbow's believing game, "the first rule is to refrain from doubting the assertions...we return to Tertullian's original formulation: *credo ut intelligam*: I believe in order to understand. We are not trying to find errors but truths..." (149). Elbow repeats Rogers' suggestions to "get inside the head of someone

who saw things this way (not your way)" (149). He describes this idea further as "self-insertion, self-involvement—an act of projection" (149). In his introduction to these two concepts, Elbow juxtaposes doubting and believing in a way that allows the reader to see the validity of both the Cartesian skepticism of doubting and the Rogerian trust of the newer view. Elbow points out that the doubting game has made great strides in natural science for three hundred years (150). He says that the believing view is seen and felt as non-scientific, "unintellectual, irrational and sloppy" (151). But he also shows how the doubting game is not effective in certain areas of thought and that the believing game is also a way of being as accurate as possible in making decisions.

Elbow proves that the doubting game "doesn't work with assertions of meaning" (159) because words do not inhere with meaning; they are, rather, given meaning by a certain speech community, so that the "logic and evidence" required by the doubting game do not work in situations where words take on individual meanings (159). I think this observation is very relevant to argumentative situations because most arguments are about meaning and definition, either directly or indirectly. Elbow goes on to say that in believing another's point of view one can have a sense of whether her or his own idea works *in relation to*, not against, that other point of view (163-4, my italics). One must, at least for a while, really believe the other's view in order to weigh it in relation to one's own. Again echoing Rogers, Elbow implies that a person has to see the other's viewpoint as the other sees it, in order to feel it out as a possible answer to the problem, not as inadmissible by the nature of its opposition to the other's view.

The believing game has great potential for breaking down the threat and confrontation-ality of argument because it rechannels energy into the process of understanding. It does so by using approaches different from the doubting game to neutralize natural human tendencies toward imperfect perception, as Elbow explains. Whereas the doubting game attempts to neutralize self-interest by taking the self out of the argumentative enterprise (attempted objectivity), the believing game invests the self in trying to perceive other's notions. Whereas the doubting game tries to neutralize projection, or thinking that what's in one's head is what's out there, again, by de-emphasizing the self, the believing game forces the self to look at other possibilities as probabilities to consider in relation to one's own. Whereas the doubting game tries to correct problems with precision in human perception by setting up a critical apparatus that checks for errors, the believing game allows for the reality of that imprecision (171-4). Because it forces a person to experience or "let in" more than his/her own opinion or perception, s/he can make up for an imprecision of the human mind with the roundness of a more deeply and widely thought out conclusion through a process that is more inclusive of her/ his other faculties. Elbow uses the word "sense" as a verb and as a noun to describe the total of the self's faculties of feeling and intuiting, as well as thinking, to come to a rounder conclusion.

Elbow ends his essay on the two games by claiming that both "are only two halves of a full cycle of thinking" (191). This coincides with my belief that alternatives to traditional argument should be taught, not instead of, but in addition to traditional argument. However, I also agree with Elbow when he says that "bad things can be associated with the doubting game: by helping people extricate themselves from perception, it can reinforce self-deception; by helping people extricate themselves from experience, it can reinforce the peculiarly antiseptic inhumanity that is characteristic of our culture, and makes it easier, for instance, to drop bombs on [other] people" (190). I think that as part of a process that includes both kinds of thinking, the aspects of the doubting game which constitute its negative associations would be diminished. One game could balance out the other, particularly if the believing game comes first; it is possible that the doubting game could be eliminated altogether if the believing game were to become the game of choice through actual practice. This can happen only if we teach it as an equally effective and desirable alternative to traditional argument, in our attempts to see our way from confrontation and aggression to communication and understanding, much as I believe Rogers and Elbow have tried to do.

We might wonder how to teach the believing game in our classrooms. I can envision a series of exercises applied to a position or proposal paper project in which the instructor forms the class into dyads, assigning students to others who are of different cultures, races, or genders. The groups of two would brainstorm for an issue about which they do not agree, or a problem for which they do not agree upon the solution. Each person would then write a five-part explanation of her/his position: 1) introduction explaining the issue or problem/solution; 2) explanation of related terms; 3) explanation of why s/he believes the way s/he does; 4) explanation of underlying assumptions; 5) explanation of how power works in relation to the subject and her/his

view of it. The goal here would be clarity of expression and explanation, not persuasion. Next, the student would present these explanations to the other in order to make clear what s/he believes. The other would then restate out loud what the presenter had said in his/her own words, in each of the five steps. There should be no questions, just restatements until the other gets the word from the presenter that s/he is accurate in his understanding of her/him, until what the other is saying coincides with the presenter's ideas. The other then becomes the presenter and goes through the same process. For homework, the two students would have to write, as if s/he were the other, what the other's position is. These processes could take one or two classes, perhaps three, depending on the progress of the dyads.

In the next class, each group of two would read each other's written understandings to verify that the understanding is accurate; afterwards, they would exchange each other's written understandings. Then the two students would be given a questionnaire on which they would answer the following questions: 1) Do you see the ways in which what I am saying is or can be true? 2) Do you see my idea as a real possibility in certain situations? 3) Do you understand how my idea works? 4) What do you like about my idea? 5) Can you see any similarities between any of the five explanation steps we wrote earlier on your side and on my side? Students would take enough time to thoroughly answer these questions and then would give the sheet to the other student. The final assignment would then be given to each student: Write an assessment of both sides in which you either 1) conclude that one idea would work better or makes more sense than the other and why, considering your understanding of both ideas, or 2) show how elements of both ideas could be combined as a third possibility or solution.

Here, I have tried to incorporate Elbow's believing game into a somewhat revolutionary re-envisioning of what a position or persuasion paper could be. But this is what both Rogers and Elbow are suggesting, in my opinion. The first steps clearly incorporate Rogerian principles and the steps toward the end are meant to encourage students to believe rather than question the other's idea, to see it as equally valid and from that experience come to a conclusion. It will be interesting to try out these steps and to see how they actually work in the classroom.

The second body of theory that has produced a very attractive alternative to traditional argument is based on feminist theory. Rae Rosenthal suggests a bilingual approach to teaching freshman composition because of differences between "male and female discourse" (119). A pertinent historical example she uses to illustrate this difference is taken from an article by Robyn R. Warhol, who states that female authors of the 1800s used "engaging" narrators who try "to close gaps between narratee, the addressee and the receiver," whereas male writers of the same century created "distancing" narrators, the results of which were a "distance between the actual reader and the inscribed 'you' in the text" (qtd. in Rosenthal 119-20). This kind of distancing between two parties smacks of the distancing involved in the doubting game, which is the heart of traditional argument.

Thomas J. Farrell reports that females write in a way that is more "eidetic, methectic, open-ended and generative," while men produce a style that is "framed, contained, more preselected, and packaged" (qtd. in Rosenthal 121). He continues to say that "The male mode of rhetoric seems to assume that antagonism is all right because intellectual life presumably proceeds agonistically...The female mode, on the other hand, seems to avoid unnecessary antagonism or differentiation" (qtd. in Rosenthal 121). Again, here is the result of hierarchical thinking juxtaposed with less divisive modes. Certainly it is implied that female discourse seeks to lessen threat and to show or make connections. These apparently inherent characteristics of female writing remind us of the Rogerian attempts to reduce threat, to connect with the other in a meaningful way which brings both parties into benign human contact.

Rosenthal also moves away from "writing as a fixed set of rules and procedures" concerning placement of thesis and supports (127). She admits that she has written and taught writing in the male mode, which corresponds to the Aristotelian or traditional argument (129). She points out that "Feminist theory...is based on the belief that objectivity is an illusion [as in Elbow's believing game], an unattainable and undesirable goal" (128). Her offering to the possibilities for solutions to this situation is a "bilingual" English class, in which students learn the mode with which they are less familiar. The suggestion to teach alternative modes is a good one, I think, and supports the feminist argument that the reality of specifically male and female modes of writing does not mean that males and females must remain necessarily limited and stereotyped by these modes.

Catherine Lamb, in her article "Beyond Argument in Feminist Composition," reports a finding of Elizabeth Flynn: "women write stories of interaction, of connection, or of frustrated connection" [whereas men write] "stories of achievement, of separation, or of frustrated achievement" (qtd. in Lamb 196). "Open-ended" and "provisional" are words used to describe Flynn's thinking. My own thinking has been said to be open-ended and connective. But Cynthia Caywood and Gillian Overing find that "the model of writing as products is inherently authoritarian" and that "the expository...the clear evocation of thesis... the argumentative, the impersonal, rational voice" are all favored over other types of writing (qtd. in Lamb 197). That is why I am asking that we more strongly consider the desirable consequences, both long and short term, of teaching the less confrontational forms of writing, especially in argument situations.

Lamb asserts that the feminist theory of power is "not a quality to exercise on others, but as something which can energize, enabling competence and thus reducing hierarchy" (199). We can see the similarities among the Rogerian argument, the Elbowian believing game and this stance on the realignment of power as it can apply to argument. From this theory Lamb develops a negotiation/mediation "argument" exercise in which students are grouped into threes, one as mediator, the other two as "disputants" (202-4). The mediator must learn, through role-plays, to get "as complete a picture as possible from both sides..." (203). Disputants write "a memo to the mediator in which they explain the problem as they see it" (203). The mediator "writes a memo to a supervisor, summarizing issues for both parties..." (203). Then all three write the final document, or "mediation agreement." This must be as inclusive of as many elements of both sides as make the agreement satisfying to all parties (203).

It is interesting to note that before the collaborative paper process, Lamb has the students write separate monologic arguments, through which they are able to learn that it is necessary to be clear about the "characteristics and values of the viewpoint they are representing" (204). They contrast the results of writing the monologic argument to those of the negotiated one and find that the latter has a "greater sense of spaciousness" (204), as in opening up space in which to negotiate with another rather than presenting a closed monologic argument. Obviously the believing game has to be played here. All three negotiators must move closer to being open to others' views and believe them enough to be able to incorporate them into a viable solution.

The nature of negotiation is to bring your point of view into relationship with that of another. A person brings a piece of her/himself to the other's attention for the purpose of deciding where s/he can stand (or cannot stand without compromise) in relation to someone else. According to Robert E. Brooke, this kind of process is actually what is happening psychologically and sociologically in the lives of adolescents when we come into contact with them as college freshman students, as they form their identities. Therefore, it is doubly fruitful for these students to engage in any or all of the alternative argument methods I have presented here. Let me explain the implications of such an endeavor.

Brooke, in his book *Writing and Sense of Self*, argues that "learning about writing becomes important when it operates within individuals' ongoing negotiations (within the groups that make up their classroom and culture) concerning the roles they will play and the value attached to those" (5). He says that we might look at writing "as part of a much more basic activity: the development and negotiation of individual identity in a complex social environment" (5). He describes his concept of "identity negotiation" (derived from psychologists Goffman, Erikson, and Laing; educators Giroux and Friere; feminists Adrienne Rich, Pamela Annas and Mary Belenky; and anthropologists George Marcus and Michael Fischer): "individual identity is best seen as a dynamic construct which comes into being through negotiation or compromise with social definitions of self surrounding the individual" (11-12). Thus, there is a "central tension between social and internal understandings of the self" (12).

Brooke's thinking on this matter led to a restructuring of his writing classes from teacher to student centered. Instead of feeling that he had the knowledge of rhetoric that must be handed down to students through standard pedagogies (such as lecturing), he saw that a focus on the persons in the class themselves would produce a more meaningful and useful life experience for them. He then used a workshop approach that put students in touch with others and gave them opportunities to interact and continually negotiate their positions, thereby centering on the adolescent self's major project of identity negotiation.

In my view, the use of alternative argumentative strategies could only enhance the new agenda of Brooke's classes, and those of others like him. When students are led to explore the point of view of another and must exercise Rogers' empathic understanding, or Elbow's believing game, or Lamb's negotiation, they are learning not only about others but also about themselves in relation to others. When this relationship comes into focus and is dealt with out in the open, students are also encouraged to accept themselves and others to the degree that confrontation and adversarial stances may begin to make less sense to them.

So far in this paper, I have suggested that alternatives to argument such as the ones I have examined here might be very useful in multicultural classrooms. I have also hinted that Euro-American students might be most usefully targeted for learning these alternative strategies. I think we have to face the fact that when we talk about realigning power and re-envisioning argument, and at the same time consider multicultural classroom settings and the contact zone, we cannot ignore the reality of the dominant group as that which must set out to achieve that realignment, in order to accommodate those of other groups and cultures. In fact, the use of Rogerian-type argument styles by other groups and cultures may not have desirable effects. This is illustrated by Catherine Lamb's experience with Rogerian argument as explained in her article on going beyond argument with negotiation. She observes that Rogerian argument is more "feminine rather than feminist. It has always been women's work to understand others...often it has been at the expense of understanding self. Rogerian argument has always felt too much like giving in" (201). Clearly, in situations in which the historical power differential is the problem being argued, or its critique is the warrant underlying the argument, Rogerian argument may not have the effect of setting the stage for change of the kind that is necessary to realign that power.

In Phyllis Lassner's article, "Feminist Responses to Rogerian Argument," the author explores the question of who could benefit from Rogerian argument, and by extension the believing game, in an argument situation. She points out that those who have supported Rogerian argument say that it could "provide a heuristic by which students come to understand the assumptions and biases on which their positions are based, as well as the positions, attitudes and values of those who differ from them" (221). She also observes that "Rogers' person-centered communication is designed to enable us to live with new knowledge about others" (222). Lassner finds, however, that women who have tried to use Rogerian argument see it as a tool used "for the purpose of educating women to identify with those who ignore or dismiss their concerns" (223), because "they must use linguistic and rhetorical conventions which invalidate the logic of their experiences" (223). The conventions referred to here are Rogerian ones.

It is understandable that for minority groups, alternative argument modes set up a situation in which they must attempt to honestly say that they understand and can validate racist or sexist behavior and beliefs within certain contexts. It would be hard to imagine an African-American empathizing with the hate mail of a Ku Klux Klansman, or a woman trying to honestly understand that she should be a second class citizen. Certainly, these kinds of situations invite us to think in terms of reversing the task of validating invalid assumptions; the arguer would have to show, as in Aristotelian argument, how there is no valid context for racism and sexism. Yet, I do not believe that women, minorities, and other groups that may experience certain Western ideologies as threatening could not also benefit from having a choice of argumentative modes to work with in their writing repertoires, for situations in which these alternatives could prove fruitful. Confronting obviously invalid arguments can be done as those questions arise; negotiating about other kinds of arguments can be taken up as those questions arise. But this point, also certainly, leads to the conclusion that the alternative methods of argument I have presented here should be put into use first by members of the dominant power group, and I believe we should be able to see the validity of this. Other voices must be heard and given the chance to have a say in their lives. The world is not basically one-sided but many-faceted and efforts must be made by the dominant power group to listen to and learn more about others, to equalize the power differential and encourage more harmonious human relationships.

Bonnie Lisle and Sandra Mano suggest that writing professors, who are in a position to revolutionize how argument is defined and understood, need to consider moving toward a "multicultural rhetoric" by studying the rhetorics of other cultures and by recognizing their validity in our students of other cultures" (12-26). They go on to point out that "a survey of persuasive strategies in other cultures suggests that as a measure of rhetorical effectiveness the logocentrism of Western tradition is the exception rather than the rule..." (16). I have suggested what I have called alternative argument strategies that certain Western theorists have developed as a

starting point for this kind of re-envisioning of argument. Perhaps the next step is to develop alternative modes from those of other cultures, in order to understand those cultures better, to learn more about the needs of our multicultural students and to envision additional argument modes that are less confrontational. I have also suggested that we must consider and reconsider the use of traditional argument because it has been the center of academic discourse for so long. We academicians must realize that our students will be exposed to whatever we choose to include in what they learn about argument, so it is our responsibility to introduce other kinds of argument and persuasion to them. We must first re-envision what argument is or should be.

I agree with David Bartholomae when he says that “academic writing is the real work of the academy” (63), but I believe that multiculturalism dictates that we change our notions of what academic writing can and should be, based on what has potential to work in the world as argument or other-than-argument. Argument itself must be re-assessed and re-defined. As Elbow says, concerning his book *Writing without Teachers*, “I was struck then—as I still am—with the *limitations* of argument, doubt, debate, and criticism. I was trying to show the power of disciplined and methodological use of believing, listening, affirming, entering in, attending to one’s experience with others” (xxi, his italics). I also believe in bringing all the questions of power, such as the one that arose with the women in Lassner’s article, out into the open, as subjects in our classes. If critical thinking becomes a self-reflective as well as outer-directed activity, particularly for those within historically dominant power structures, there is more of a chance that power can be negotiated in ways that benefit everyone, including those previously unempowered and disenfranchised. The seeds for this type of growth can be found in the work of people like Rogers, Elbow, and Lamb.

When Elbow points out that there is “a peculiarly antiseptic inhumanity that is characteristic of our culture” (190), he is referring to that edge of argument, as developed by the Western view of the world, that seeks to cut down the other, that edge which can become a decision to wield power, which may be harmful, over others. I do not think this is the kind of world we want, or that we want to or can viably pass on to young people. We must accept a newer world so full of difference that we have to adapt our practices to suit it better, more carefully. Jim Corder suggests that we no longer see argument as “a matter of my poster against yours, with the prize to the slickest performance” (26). Instead of this competitive, who’s-better-than-the-other attitude, he says that argument should be seen as “emergence toward the other” (26), or an invitation to the other to “enter a world that the arguer tries to make commodious, inviting the other to emerge as well...” (26).

In a sense, I am asking for even more than that; I am asking that arguers learn to feel humbled by the presence of the other, to be open to difference and to listen carefully to the other, not for what the other needs to know according to the arguer’s agenda, but for what it needs according to its own contexts. Only then can argument fulfill its full potential for human communication, and only then can we use our knowledge of identity and reality as negotiated and not fixed, to actively negotiate a world that is equitably shared by all inhabitants. We can begin to ensure that this will happen by re-envisioning argument and the realignment of power that a new vision of argument must be based upon. We can begin the process of change in the classroom by incorporating alternative argument strategies into what we teach in our college composition courses. Students and teachers could experience a broader view of argument as well as a broader and more complexitized understanding of the teaching/learning situation.